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OCTOBER MEETING, 1879.

The stated meeting was held at the Society's rooms in Boston, on Thursday, the 9th instant, at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the previous meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian read the monthly list of donors to the Library. Among others, Mr. Benjamin R. Curtis had given his *Life and Writings* of his father, our late associate; Mr. Frank W. Hackett, of Portsmouth, had given his privately printed memoir of his father, the Hon. William H. Y. Hackett; and Mr. John F. Eliot of Boston, had given a number of Almanacs, interleaved with manuscript notes by the Rev. John Eliot, one of the founders of the Society, and a copy of a curious tract by Sir George Soudes, entitled "*Plaine Narrative to the World of all Passages upon the Death of his two Sonnes.*"*

Dr. GREEN presented also an application from the Rev. Henry F. Jenks, to copy from the Society's manuscripts every thing relating to the Boston Latin School, and leave was granted under the rules.

In the absence of the Cabinet-keeper, the President called attention to a portrait of our late member, the Hon. George S. Hillard, by William Willard of Sturbridge. This had been presented by the Trustees of the Sanders Fund through Mr. Saltonstall. The President then presented, in the name of Mr. James H. Lunt of Boston, a copy of the Rev. William Parsons Lunt's Phi Beta Kappa poem, "*Psyche,*" extracted from the *Democratic Review* of April, 1838, and inlaid in gold leaf. He read also a letter from Mrs. William Barry, presenting in the name of her father, Deacon Cephas Willard of Petersham, a number of plans and documents relating to the Bunker Hill Monument. These papers comprise some of the plans for its construction, a considerable correspondence of the designer and superintendent, Mr. Solomon Willard (a brother of the Deacon), and the original manuscript of Mr. Willard's "*Plans and Sections of the Obelisk*

* The younger son killed his brother, and was executed for the murder, August 21, 1655. This tract and another on the same subject: "*A Mirrour of Mercy and Judgment*" are reprinted in the tenth volume of the *Harleian Miscellanies*; and the editor gives, at page 23 of that volume, some particulars about Sir George's family. — Eds.

on Bunker Hill," published in 1843, with its neatly drawn plates.* The Recording Secretary was directed to return the thanks of the Society for these acceptable gifts.

The President then said:—

Before turning to other business this morning, Gentlemen, I am desirous of making a brief explanation. There seems to have been a wide-spread misunderstanding of a somewhat casual word of mine at our last meeting, and there have been private letters, as well as newspaper criticisms, on the subject, more than I cared to attend to.

In speaking of Governor Winthrop's funeral, in 1649, I observed that "there were no religious services or sermons at funerals, at that period of our colonial history." I then added as follows: "Indeed, Dr. Shurtleff states,—incredible as it may seem,—that the first prayer at a funeral in Boston was as late as 1766, and the first funeral sermon as late as 1783."

Our late associate and friend, Dr. Shurtleff, seemed to have made diligent investigation of this particular subject. "The first prayer made at a funeral in Boston (he states), is said, on good authority, to have been offered by Rev. Dr. Chauncy, at the interment of Rev. Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, pastor of the West Church, who died on the 9th of July, 1766, and was buried from the West Church on account of the great concourse who desired to pay respect to his memory by being present on the occasion. The assembly being in a meeting-house, it was deemed proper and expedient that a devotional exercise should be had; and this incident led to a custom which is now universal."

Dr. Shurtleff was equally specific in stating, that "the sermon, which introduced the present custom of funeral sermons over the body, was preached by Dr. John Clarke in Brattle Street Meeting-House, at the interment of Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper, who died on the 29th of December, 1783, and was buried on the following Friday; which being the day the usual sacramental lecture was delivered in Brattle Street Church, and the body having been taken into the meeting-house, on account of the great number of persons who desired to attend the funeral, Rev. Dr. Clarke, the junior pastor of the First Church, who was to have preached the lecture, changed it into a funeral service, and thus set an example which has been much followed since."

* Deacon Willard gave, in 1876, to the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, the drawings and working plans from which the monument was built. The plans now given should be compared with those in Worcester. — Eds.

Now Dr. Shurtleff was certainly a diligent and devoted antiquary. He had been the chosen editor of the Colonial Records, both of Massachusetts and of Plymouth, and had published them in many large volumes. He had thus been in the way of observing the habits and customs of our Fathers during the whole Colonial Period. He embodied the fruits of his observation and research in his elaborate "Topographical and Historical Description of Boston," published at the request of our City Council in 1870, and of which a revised and enlarged edition was issued in 1871. On such a work one might well rely with confidence.

For myself, however, I confess that I could not, and did not, quote his precise statement without many misgivings. It seemed incredible to me, and I distinctly intimated as much. I have always thought that in some old diary, or in some old church record, or in some old newspaper, if not on the cover of some old sermon, there would be discovered earlier dates for sermons or religious exercises of some sort at funerals, and I will do the justice to Dr. Shurtleff himself to say, that he seemed to anticipate the possibility of such a discovery. After saying that "the sermons, which are usually designated as funeral sermons, were generally in early times preached, as before said, upon the Sunday after the funeral," he concludes by adding, "although occasionally, by accident, the funeral sermon was preached at the time of interment,—an exception to the general rule." I have a strong belief that these "exceptions to the general rule," will from time to time be discovered.

But whether the statement of Dr. Shurtleff be correct or incorrect, it is his and not mine. Neither this Society nor any of its officers are responsible for it, and if any thing inconsistent with it should be ascertained at any time, it will concern his History and not our Proceedings.

I am particular in making this explanation, as Dr. Shurtleff's statement has not only been ascribed to me personally, but has been misunderstood, as embracing those occasional, or funeral sermons, so called, preached after the funeral, of which there are so many to be found of a much earlier date than 1783, and it has thus subjected our Society, through its President, to invidious and unjust remark.

I have no question that the customs were as Dr. Shurtleff described them, but I repeat that I have very little doubt that exceptional cases at earlier dates than those mentioned by him will come to light from time to time. Indeed, I have a strong impression that I have seen an account of more than

one such exceptional case myself, though, owing to special and engrossing occupations, during the last fortnight, both at New York and at home, I have had no time for verifying the impression. But, after all, exceptions are proverbially said to prove the rule, and it may be, that Dr. Shurtleff had in his mind the very instances to which I allude. It is enough for me to repeat, that in my remarks at the last meeting, I made no assertion on the subject myself, and did not dream of entering into any question about sermons at or after funerals, but confined myself to quoting, not without an expression of incredulity, the specific statements contained in Dr. Shurtleff's Historical Description of Boston.

And now, Gentlemen, by a striking coincidence, just as I had hastily put the foregoing explanation on paper, for presentation here this morning, I received a note from my friend on my left, our Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Deane, kindly placing in my hands some Memoranda, which confirm the impressions I was under in regard to the exceptional cases, and which at the same time add some interesting items of history. He sent them to me most obligingly to be used in any way I might choose, and I might have adopted them as my own. But I prefer that he should have the credit of them, and I therefore read the Memoranda precisely as he prepared them:—

DEAR MR. WINTHROP, —I have scrawled off some Memoranda for you, concerning matters which you may already be familiar with, to be used by you in any way you may wish.

In the "Directory for the Publick Worship of God, agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines, at Westminster; examined and approved Anno 1645, by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland," &c., is the following rule

"Concerning Burial of the Dead.

"When any person departeth this life, let the dead body, upon the day of burial, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for public burial, and there immediately interred without any ceremony.

"And because the customs of kneeling down and praying by, or towards, the dead corpse, and other such usages in the place where it lies before it be carried to burial, are superstitious; and for that praying, reading, and singing, both in going to and at the grave, have been grossly abused, are no way beneficial to the dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the living; therefore, let all such things be laid aside."

The rule here laid down is quite in sympathy with the views of the early Independents, who, in their retreat at Amsterdam, published in

1604, "An Apologie or Defence of such true Christians as are commonly (but unjustly) called Brownists," in which, in their earnest desire for a true reformation of the church of England, they set forth their views in the form of a petition to the king, James I. They conceive, among other things, "that the celebration of marriage, and burial of the dead, be not ecclesiasticall actions appertaining to the ministry, but civil, and so to be performed"; "else there will be a nourishing still of two popish errors by this means; the one, that matrimony is a sacrament, the other, that prayer is to be used for the dead, or at least over them, at their burial." (pp. 57, 58.)

Here we find an accord between the Independents and the Presbyterians, in their mutual opposition to the doctrines and practices of the Romish church. I have no doubt that the Massachusetts Puritans early conformed to the spirit of the rule so minutely set forth in the Westminster Directory cited above, though the Cambridge Platform is silent on the subject.

But, if the rule was ever rigidly adhered to, a departure from it after a time took place. In Cotton Mather's "Ratio Disciplinæ Fratrum Nov-Anglorum," published in 1726, and attested by his father, in 1719, in a preface, he says (p. 117), "In many towns in New England the ministers make agreeable prayers with the people come together at the House, to attend the Funeral of the dead. And in some, the Ministers make a short speech at the grave. But in other places both of these things are wholly omitted. However, they are not forbidden, as they are in the Discipline of the French Churches, where the prohibition runs in these Terms: 'There shall be no prayer nor sermon at funerals, to shun superstition.'"

As Dr. Shurtleff very truly says, "Funeral Sermons" were usually preached some day after the funeral took place, but Cotton Mather himself could have furnished instances of funeral sermons preached at the funeral of persons in Boston many years before his book was published. In the case of Fitz-John Winthrop, who died in 1707, and in that of Wait-Still, who died in 1717, Cotton Mather himself preached sermons at their funerals. The sermons were both published. The titlepage of the former reads, "A Sermon preached at the funeral of John Winthrop, Esq."; and on page 15, he says, "He is this day to be interred among us." The titlepage of the latter reads, "Preached at the funeral of the Hon. Wait Winthrop, Esq.," "whom we this day" (p. 37) "follow to the grave." I dare say we might find other instances. I cannot but think that Dr. Shurtleff's language, though somewhat qualified, is misleading.

Faithfully yours,

CHARLES DEANE.

I will only add that these sermons of Cotton Mather's on the Winthrops were the precise exceptional cases which I had in mind before receiving Mr. Deane's note, but having not a moment for examining them or verifying my im-

pressions, and having a reluctance to going into any more family matters at present, I had resolved to reserve the investigation to a future day.

I have copies of both these sermons somewhere among my old treasures, but I need not take the pains of looking for them to be assured that Mr. Deane is correct in his account of them. With him, too, as I have said, I fully believe that such exceptional cases were less rare than Dr. Shurtleff imagined.

The following amendments of the By-laws were adopted : —

To amend Chapter II., Article 1, by striking out all of the first sentence, and inserting in its place, "There shall be a regular meeting of the Society on the second Thursday of every month at three o'clock, P.M., at their rooms in Boston; provided, however, that the Council shall have authority to postpone any such monthly meeting, or to dispense with it altogether, or to direct it to be held at other rooms or at another hour, whenever for any cause they may deem it desirable or expedient."

To amend Chapter XII., Article 5, by striking out the words "on the Monday" in the first and second lines, and inserting in their stead the words "within one week"; and also by inserting immediately after the word "meeting" in the second line, the words "on such day and."

The President exhibited a volume entitled "Analytical Index to the Series of Records known as the Remembrancia, preserved among the Archives of the City of London," which he had just received, a gift from that Corporation. This volume embraces the period from 1579 to 1664, and includes the time when London was no foreign city to the New England Fathers.

The first section, A. to F. inclusive, was then called upon for communications, whereupon the Rev. Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS spoke as follows : —

I have been asked to bring to the notice of this Society a subject upon which, after listening to a brief statement of it, the members will take such action as they see fit, either disposing of it as outside their concern, or aiding a contemplated petition by individual signatures or by official sanction. I am informed that a petition is to be offered to the next Congress that a pension be granted to two aged, unmar-

ried women in this State, now in needy circumstances, for valuable service performed by them during the war with Great Britain in 1812.

The proposed pensioners are sisters, natives, and, through their long lives, as now, residents of the town of Scituate, at Scituate Harbor. They are Miss Rebecca W. Bates, aged 86 years, and Miss Abigail Bates, aged 82. Their father was Simeon Bates of Scituate, who enlisted at the age of 16, and served in the War of the Revolution as a drummer, with his father, Reuben Bates, who was a private in Rhode Island, under Captain William Barker of Scituate. Neither the father nor the grandfather of the Misses Bates, nor their widows nor their children, have ever received any pension from our government.

The service performed in their youth by these now venerable women—who are properly described as “spinsters,” by the first definition of the word, because they were brought up to spin—was of this sort. In August or September, 1814, when parts of our coast were blockaded by British war vessels, the “La Hogue,” in that service, lying in Scituate harbor about a mile from the shore, sent two armed barges over the bar to seize two of our vessels laden with flour, at anchor near by. The barges would doubtless have captured the prizes and made prisoners of their men. In this emergency, the two girls, watching the scene from their home, and unaccompanied, rushed to the shore, taking with them the paternal drum and fife, which they knew how to use after a fashion, and hiding behind a bluff near the present light-house, performed so vigorously upon their instruments that the marines in the barges, supposing that so much martial music indicated a corresponding military support, hurriedly rowed off seaward, leaving their meditated prey.

The relation of this incident is affirmed to be thoroughly authentic, having been of constant and familiar repetition from the time of its occurrence. Very many persons have visited the scene in company with the patriotic women, who there performed so good a part.

I have before me brief autograph papers from both of them, which I will read:—

“Rebecca W. Bates, born 1793, aged 86 years, one of the American army of two in the war of 1812, who, with her sister, aged 15 years, saved two large vessels laden with flour, and their crew from imprisonment, from being taken by the British, with fife and drum, off Scituate Harbor, Mass.
REBECCA, the Fifer.”

"Abbie, the drummer, one of the American army of two, in the war of 1812, drove from our shore two British barges, saved two vessels laden with flour from capture, and crew from prison, with fife and drum.

ABBIE BATES, Age 82.

"SCITUATE HARBOR, Mass."

These venerable women have always lived as plain people, under the most frugal circumstances, respected by their neighbors of like sort. The little, modest sum of their scant surplus above daily needs they had deposited in a bank in their town, which, though it bore the name of "savings," has had to substitute the name of "losings." It may be that the most aged of the sufferers by it will not live to see the injunction removed from it, nor to share what may be left after the speculators and the lawyers have got through the *post mortem* processes. In the mean while, the friends of these two aged sisters propose to seek aid for them in their necessitous circumstances by asking the national government to award them a pension for valuable patriotic services as an army of two.

This matter was referred to the Council of the Society for examination and action.

Mr. DEANE said:—

I desire to call the attention of the Society to some memoranda in the handwriting of the Rev. Thomas Prince, the annalist, found in a volume of "Davis Papers," in the Society's Library. It is a list of books, with a number and title to each, made out by Prince for the purpose of a sale. They are divided into octavos, quartos, and folios. A ruled column for prices was left blank, and subsequently filled in by another hand. This column is headed, "Sell for Old Tenor." The first leaf (or sheet) is wanting, so that the titles only of those on the leaf preserved are known. The amount for which the books on the missing leaf were sold is, however, brought forward. The books, or lots, are numbered. There are 160 octavos, 20 quartos, and 22 folios; and 6 bundles of pamphlets of 10 in a bundle, not otherwise distinguished. The gross sum realized from the sale was £305 17s. 3d.; "Gerrish's charges," that is, Commissions, 10 per cent, advertising £2 00s. 0d.=£32 11s. 8d., to be deducted.

The principal part of these books appear to have belonged to the annalist's deceased brother, Nathan Prince, who died in 1748, at the island of Ruatan, near Honduras, and were probably sold by way of settling the estate. The remainder belonged to Thomas Prince himself. In a separate memo-

randum by him is a list headed, "Books w^e belonged to me, Tho. Prince." These consisted of 21 lots of octavos and quartos (besides pamphlets), numbered, the numbers referring to the general list. So far as that list is preserved we know the titles of the books. His brother's books brought £283 12s. 3d., while his own brought £22 5s. 0d., before deducting the charges. What appear to be the names of the purchasers, some if not all of them, are preserved in the same hand which filled in the prices. They are Timothy Green, James Bowdoin, Stephen Aphthorp, John Andrews, John Nichols, Mr. Cheever, Mr. Deshon, Mr. Kneeland, Mr. Adams, Mr. Jeffreys, Rev. Mr. Smith, Mr. Emmons, Mr. Upham, Mr. Torrey, and Mr. Savage.

The titles of the books in the sale which belonged to Thomas Prince, so far as we are able to designate them (ten of the lots having been on the missing leaf), are as follows, with the prices carried out against them:—

	£	s.	d.
Solleysel & S ^r W ^m . Hope's Compleat Horseman, w th cuts, ed. 2	1	12	0
Mauger's French Grammar, ed. 15			
Charrier's Treatise of Surgery, wounds, &c., ed. 3			
A New Discovery of y ^e Southern World	0	15	0
Tryon of Dreams & Visions, ed. 2			
Boerhaave's Institutions of Physick	1	00	0
Playford's Psalms & Tunes, ed. 15	1	00	0
The Bible with Cann's Marginal notes	2	00	0
Contemplations, Moral, & Divine, w th y ^e Applause of Virtue	2	12	6
Vorstius's Sumary Examen of all y ^e Popish Controvers ^a . <i>Lat.</i>	0	6	0
Strangius, of y ^e Interpreta ⁿ of y ^e Script ^a , with his Life. <i>Lat.</i>	0	6	0
Buridanus on Aristotle's Ethicks: Oxford. <i>Lat.</i>	0	6	0
Pynchon on y ^e Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption	0	16	0
D ^r . Ames's Fresh Suit against Humane Ceremonies	1	14	0
Mr. Joseph Mede of y ^e altar, & Rever ^{se} of God's House	0	16	0
Brerewood's Ethicks, Oxford. <i>Lat.</i>	0	6	0

With one or two exceptions, the titles of the books sold, which belonged to the annalist, are not in the new printed catalogue of the Prince Library, deposited with the Public Library of the City of Boston. Ames's "Fresh Suit," &c., is among the books sold, as is also Pinchon's "Meritorious Price," &c. The title of the former is in the new printed catalogue, but that of the latter is wanting, except under another title. Pinchon's book is in the manuscript catalogue of Prince's New England Library, as made by himself.

To what extent these volumes belonged to either of the two libraries formed by Prince in his lifetime, and bequeathed to the Old South Church, cannot now be determined. Complete catalogues of each, as they were at that period, do not exist. A good many books entered in his own catalogue of

the New England Library are now wanting in that library; and a good many of the books once belonging to Prince, and to the libraries formed by him, are known to be in other depositories, public and private. It has sometimes been a question whether Prince himself would have sold or given away any volumes which he had placed in either of these two libraries, though, of course, all the books remained his own property during his life; and they, or what remained of them, became the property of the Old South Church on his death, by bequest. See Mr. Winsor's Introduction to "The Prince Library," Boston, 1870.

The memorandum I here furnish is evidence that Prince once, at least, disposed of some of his books at auction.

Among some additional memoranda of Prince on these sheets, relating to other matters connected with the estate of his brother, is the date "Oct. 15, 1751," which furnishes a clew to the time when the sale of the books took place.

Mr. DEXTER, from the Committee on publishing the Proceedings, communicated a journal kept during a visit to Marietta, Ohio, and on the return journey to Philadelphia, by Thomas Wallcut, whose papers were presented to the Society by his nephew, the Rev. Robert F. Wallcut, at the September meeting.*

An appreciative and touching memoir of Mr. Wallcut has been prepared by this nephew for the second volume of the Early Proceedings of the Society (pp. 193-208). From this it appears that he invested all his pay as hospital steward in the Revolutionary war, in a share of the Ohio Company, then just formed, and an enterprise in which many officers and soldiers of the Continental Army were interested. In 1789 he decided to visit the new settlement, without, however, any definite plan of remaining there permanently. Among his papers is a copy of a letter from General Rufus Putnam, dated August 14, 1789, in which information is given as to the best way of reaching the Muskingum; and two draughts of a letter to his friend George R. Minot, from Ohio, dated October 31 and November 3, 1789, have been found also. From these draughts it appears that he arrived at Marietta on the 26th of October, having left Boston early in September, in a schooner ("Captain Snow"), and having had a rough passage of twenty-four days to Baltimore. Resting here four days, he tells Mr. Minot he found a conveyance for his portmanteau

* See above, p. 160. — Eds.

in a wagon, and started on foot for Wheeling, on the evening of October 1st, arriving there on the evening of the 20th. The only remark he makes about the journey is a comment on the wretched cabins of the settlers along the road on which he travelled; "even for two hundred miles in Pennsylvania, before I came to the Ohio," he says; and he expresses a hope that "our people will be the means of introducing more ambition and a better taste for building, as soon as we can turn our attention from the first and essential requisites of settling a new country." He remained but one day and two nights in Wheeling, and spent four days and a half in walking down to Marietta, having joined Mr. Cutler there (a son of the Rev. Manasseh Cutler), and one other person whose name he does not give. He is much pleased with all he sees and hears in Marietta, but "has thought of traversing a considerable part of the country, and may perhaps go down to Orleans," with the expectation of returning by way of Charleston to Boston.

Mr. Wallcut remained in Marietta from October 26, 1789, to March 8, 1790. If he kept a diary during the early part of his visit, it must have been in another book, for this begins with the first leaf of the book, "Wednesday, January 20, 1790." It is a compact little volume, five inches by three and a half, and opens on the shorter edge. It is kept in a very neat and careful manner. Mr. Wallcut's habits were methodical, and his handwriting almost a model for this generation of poor penmen.

After his return to Boston, Mr. Wallcut did not immediately lose his interest in Ohio. Among his correspondence is an occasional letter from a friend there, — Mr. Moody, with whom he boarded, or Paul Fearing, the first lawyer in the State. But occupation and distance from his lands (the Ohio purchase was the only financial investment he ever made) caused a gradual decrease of attention. When applied to by a friend in Marietta, he sent money from time to time to pay the taxes and other claims upon him. Some letters from William R. Putnam, who seems to have acted as his agent, are found among his papers. But gradually, piece by piece, the land was sold for unpaid taxes, until finally, in 1838, he made a quitclaim deed of all his interest to Nahum Ward, for the sum of one hundred dollars. It may be of interest to some Ohio antiquary to note that Mr. Wallcut's land (as appears by a letter from Mr. Ward, dated December 17, 1831) consisted of "eight-acre lot, number 287; three acres, number 575; half-acre lot, number 1083; one hundred

and sixty acres, number 1142; one-hundred-acre lot, number 498; six hundred and forty acres, and two hundred and sixty-two acres, number 13, in range number 15, town number 11.”*

In printing the diary, the Committee have modernized the language somewhat, and a few passages of a strictly private or personal nature have been omitted.

Wednesday, 20 January, 1790. It was perceived this morning that the River Mus[kingum] had fallen. When I got up it appeared to me it had fallen about a foot, and it continued to fall through the day, and faster much than it had risen. It froze considerably last night, and this is as cold or the coldest day I have felt in the country. Went out with Captain Prince,† and cut some poles for the smoke house. In the evening went to Mr. Parsons’s vendue‡ and bid upon some linen, a pattern for a shirt. I went as high as two dollars, which was as much as I thought it might be afforded for here, but it went above me.

Thursday, 21 January. The weather much moderated to-day, and our creek and pond before the house fell so that it is almost dry. I believe this morning the Muskingum had fell six or eight feet from the highest state of the flood in about twenty-four hours.

* In a copy which Mr. Wallcut has made of a letter from Benjamin Lynde Oliver to him from Zanesville, July 23, 1812, occurs the following: “With respect to your land, all the information I can obtain is this, — it originally contained five lots and a section and fraction. 1st lot, No. 287, of eight acres, was a very good piece of land, and worth \$10 per acre, at least. This is not redeemable. 2d lot, No. 575, of three acres, is rough, hilly land, not worth the taxes paid on it. 3d lot, No. 1083, is a house-lot, one-half acre, situated near the bank of the Ohio, a quarter of a mile from the Hockhocking, valuable merely as good land. 4th lot, No. 1142, one hundred and sixty acres, lies about twenty miles from Marietta. It is at least three or four miles from any settlement. It is rich land, but hilly, worth fifty cents or seventy-five cents per acre; and, when there shall be any settlement near it, will rise, perhaps, to \$2 per acre. 5th lot, No. 498, of one hundred acres, lies about eighty-five miles from Marietta, and separated from the Ohio by a small Congress lot. This is all good land; one-half of it is what is called bottom-land, — that is, low, rich, flat land, near the river. This land is worth at least \$3 or \$4 per acre. The section No. 13, containing six hundred and forty acres, lies about forty miles west by south from Marietta, about six miles west by south from Athens. It is partly rich, partly thin, hilly land. It is worth, on an average, about \$1 per acre. Seventy-four acres are sold. The fraction, two hundred and sixty-two acres, lies contiguous to the section, and is of the same value per acre.” — Eds.

† Captain Joseph Prince was a hatter by trade. He came from Boston, and Dr. Hildreth says he removed from Marietta to Cincinnati. Among Mr. Wallcut’s papers is a letter from him from that place, dated June 14, 1811. See “Pioneer History,” p. 330. — Eds.

‡ General Samuel H. Parsons, one of the judges of the Territory, and a director in the Ohio Company, was a distinguished officer in the Continental army. He was drowned in the Big Beaver Creek in November, 1789. Perhaps the vendue was a sale of his effects, for his son Enoch, who was with him in Ohio, returned to Connecticut in April of this year. There is a biography of General Parsons in Dr. Hildreth’s “Memoirs of the Early Pioneer Settlers of Ohio”; and a full Parsons family genealogy in the “New England Historical and Genealogical Register,” vol. i. pp. 263–275. There is also an account of his death in Craig’s “Olden Time,” vol. ii. p. 528. He was one of the first to call attention to the curious mounds and earthworks in the Ohio Territory. See Haven’s “Archæology of the United States,” p. 23. — Eds.

Friday, 22 January, 1790.*

Sabbath, 24 January, 1790. A pleasant day. This morning Mr. Brockway, Mr. Dix, Mr. Cushing, and several others left this place on a voyage to Orleans. Their object is trade, as they have some flour, and perhaps to seek their fortune. Captain P. started the proposal of going down with them as far as Belle Prairie† to view that settlement. I readily assented to it with Mr. Moody.‡ We carried with us a couple of loaves of bread, a half gallon whiskey, and some smoked venison, and went aboard about 11 or 12 o'clock. We stopped twice to land some other passengers and articles and proceeded down. We got to Waldo Putnam's about dark, one of Mr. Moody's acquaintance, and got lodging and mush and milk there for supper. Our bed was very good. This Waldo Putnam is a grandson of General Israel, and son of Colonel. He has been here to help his son begin his farm, has got him in a comfortable and prosperous way, and has gone home to Connecticut. Waldo appears to be cut out for a farmer. Captain Miles and family live in one part of the house, Captain Haskel, Mr. Davis, Mr. Dunton, and some others live altogether here.§

Monday, 25 January, 1790. Walked up this morning to Major Cushing's and Colonel Battelle's, who both urged us to breakfast with them.|| Captain Prince went to Major Cushing's; Mr. Moody and I stayed at Colonel Battelle's, where we made our breakfast on mush and milk and hashed turkey. When we left home we intended to stay here but one night and to return to-day, but Messrs. P. and M. inclined

* Nothing but the date is entered. — Eds.

† For an account of the settlement and early history of Belpre, see Hildreth's "Pioneer History," chapters xvi.-xix. There were three settlements, some little distance apart, but the Indian war caused the building of Farmers' Castle at the middle settlement, in which garrison all the inhabitants took shelter. Dr. Hildreth gives a picture of Farmers' Castle and a list of its inhabitants in 1792, indicating the house in which each family dwelt. At the time of Mr. Wallcut's visit Farmers' Castle had not been built. — Eds.

‡ Mr. Nathaniel Moody was a baker in Marietta, with whom Mr. Wallcut and his friend, the doctor, boarded during Mr. Wallcut's visit. Among the Wallcut papers are two letters from Mr. Moody written after Mr. Wallcut's return to Boston. From Mr. Prince's letter, cited above, it appears that Mr. Moody went also to Cincinnati, that he was unfortunate in business there, and that he returned to New England for a time. When Mr. Prince heard last of him, he was in Kentucky. — Eds.

§ Aaron Waldo Putnam went out to Ohio with his father, Colonel Israel Putnam, in 1788. They settled at Belpre, where the son married Bathsheba Loring, daughter of Daniel Loring. Lives of both father and son are in Dr. Hildreth's "Memoirs of the Pioneer Settlers." Captain Benjamin Miles was from Massachusetts. Major Jonathan Haskel had a farm at Belpre. He was afterward in the United States service, and is one of the pioneers whose lives Dr. Hildreth has preserved. Hildreth mentions a Jonas Davis, an unmarried man, as one of the early settlers of Belpre. He was killed by the Indians in 1795. See "Pioneer History," pp. 388, 414. — Eds.

|| Major Nathaniel Cushing of Massachusetts was the second commander of the Farmers' Castle at Belpre. Colonel Ebenezer Battelle was also from Massachusetts, and a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1775. He served frequently as chaplain to the settlement. Dr. Hildreth gives lives of both in his "Memoirs of the Early Pioneer Settlers." — Eds.

to spend the day here to look all through the settlement. I acquiesced, though I would rather have gone home to-day, as it was very pleasant and mild, and we might not have so good an one to-morrow. We were asked to dine at Colonel Oliver's* by Captain George Ingersoll; — had a good dish of boiled beef and pork, cabbage, turnips, potatoes, and Indian bread and wheat bread, and all served in a decent and handsome clean manner. Colonel Oliver and Major Goodale† are out with the exploring committee down the Ohio at Kanhawa. They went out for five or six weeks, but have sent up for more provision, and do not expect to come home until some time in February. We drank tea at Captain Dana's‡ Mrs. Oliver, Mrs. Munsell, and Betsy Oliver, Mr. Munsell, Captain Prince, Mr. Moody, and Ingersoll, and I went to Captain D.'s to drink tea. It was sunset when we were done, and the women had three miles to walk home. Captain D. lent his skiff to go down by water, which was gratefully accepted on account of the ladies.§

Tuesday, 26 January, 1790. This morning a prospect of foul weather to-day. The wind very high and a little rain. I do not regret staying yesterday unless we should have a wet day home. We went up to Colonel Oliver's to breakfast with Messrs. Ingersoll and Mayo,|| and Mr. Munsell, who came down with us to see his wife (Colonel O.'s daughter), and to carry her home to M. We had to assist Mr. Munsell through politeness to help him carry the skiff home. So we worked her up with Mrs. Lucretia in her, which made it noon when we got to Captain Dana's. We then took our baiting or dinner, and finished the meat (dried venison) and bread we brought with us, and some whiskey they (Munsell and Moody) bought here. By this time a canoe of hunters were going up with meat to sell at Marietta. Mr. Munsell went with his wife in that canoe home, and we set off between twelve and one, and walked a brisk and very steady pace (about fourteen miles), which brought us to the garrison at sunset.¶ We were detained

* Colonel Alexander Oliver was from the western part of Massachusetts. He had a large family of children, eleven in all. See Hildreth's "Pioneer History," p. 386. — Eds.

† Major Nathan Goodale was the first commander of the garrison at Farmers' Castle. He was taken prisoner by the Indians, and died in captivity. Dr. Hildreth gives a memoir of him. — Eds.

‡ Mr. Wallcut has partly drawn his pen through the words, "we slept again at Waldo Putnam's in a good bed; had mush and milk for supper." — Eds.

§ Captain William Dana was from Watertown, Massachusetts, and lived at the upper Belpre settlement. Betsy Oliver married the Hon. Daniel Symmes of Cincinnati. Mrs. Levi Munsell was her elder sister. The Munsells lived in Marietta, where, with Joseph Buell, Mr. Munsell built the first frame house in 1789. They had both been sergeants in General Harmar's regiment, and Buell had kept a diary, extracts from which are printed by Dr. Hildreth. — Eds.

|| Daniel Mayo, from Boston, a graduate of Harvard College, was one of the unmarried men at Belpre settlement. He taught the school there. — Eds.

¶ The garrison was Fort Harmar, built in 1785 by Major John Doughty, on the opposite bank of the Muskingum from Marietta. There is a woodcut of it, with a description (written by Dr. Hildreth), in the first volume of Williams's "American Pioneer," and a better picture and account in the "Pioneer History." — Eds.

some time in getting over, but got home at dark before tea. It is counted twelve miles to Little Kanhawa on the Virginia shore, and seventeen miles to the lower blockhouse in the Belle Prairie settlement, and four or five miles to the settlement at Hocking. We were treated with attention, politeness, and hospitality. This settlement is the most forward of any, containing about twenty families and a hundred souls. On our return home we met Hutchinson* going down to the exploring committee alone in a skiff with one barrel of whiskey and three of flour at or below Kanhawa. In the evening went to Mr. Parsons's room, but the members were scattered till late, and the President, Mr. Fearing,† adjourned to to-morrow evening.‡

Wednesday, 27 January, 1790. Weather pleasant, but colder than for some days past. This evening it began to snow. The society met, and proceeded to consider and discuss the question referred to this meeting, viz.: "Is the civil Government of the Western Territory as it now stands, by the Ordinance of Congress, calculated to secure the peace, freedom, and prosperity of the people; and what is wanting to obtain so desirable an object?" The society were not unanimous in any opinion, except that the Ordinance or Constitution would admit of amendments that might be very salutary, but that it is well framed for a temporary Constitution, and, taking futurity into consideration, some additions and amendments are necessary and proper. They, however, considered it as a compact that Congress cannot break, or infringe, without mutual consent. Major Dean Tyler§ was elected a member, having stood seven days in nomination.

Questions were then put into the hat for the next evening's debate. "Whether the American States have, contrariant to the regulations of the Spanish Government, a right, founded in the customs and laws

* Hildreth mentions a Thomas Hutchinson as an early settler at Marietta. See "Pioneer History," p. 317. — Eds.

† Paul Fearing was from Plymouth county, Massachusetts, and graduated from Harvard College in 1785. He was the first attorney admitted to practise in Ohio, and represented that state in Congress from 1801 to 1803. He died in 1822. Dr. Hildreth has included him in his "Early Pioneer Settlers."

Enoch Parsons was the third son of General Parsons, and when only twenty years old received the appointment of recorder or register of the county of Washington, May 14, 1789. He resigned this office perhaps on account of his father's death, in April of the next year, and returned to his native state, Connecticut, where he afterward filled many offices. He was a man of some literary taste, and must have been a congenial companion for Mr. Wallcut. Among other offices held by him was that of president of the Connecticut branch of the United States Bank. He died in 1846. There is a memoir of him, with a portrait in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," vol. i. pp. 159-162. — Eds.

‡ This is the earliest reference to a debating society, of which mention is made more than once in the diary. — Eds.

§ Major Tyler moved to Waterford on the Muskingum, a short distance above Marietta, where he was the first constable. He was an educated man, a graduate of Harvard College, and taught the school and conducted the religious services of Waterford. Dr. Hildreth has published a short sketch of his life. He was early appointed a subaltern officer of the garrison at Marietta. See Colonel May's "Journal and Letters," p. 72. — Eds.

of nations, to navigate the Mississippi from its source to its mouth"; No. 1, Parsons. No. 2. "Is the police of the city of Marietta equal to the good government of the same; and what alteration, if any, is necessary to that purpose"; Prince. No. 3. "Whether capital punishment ought ever to be instituted; if admitted, ought it to be inflicted in any other case than where the criminal is guilty of murder"; Fearing. No. 4. Is the popular opinion true that the interests of the farmer, the mechanic, and the merchant are one and the same, inseparably connected; or does this supposed oneness of interest exist anywhere but in the brains of speculative theorists or prejudiced politicians;—or, in other words, is it not necessary in the nature of things, and to preserve harmony in a system, that some one interest or principle should predominate? If so, which principle or interest that should be, must be another question"; T. W. No. 1 was elected.

Mr. Daniel Axe Louis Tylas, who was a member when the Constitution was forming, but before it was completed went a journey up to Pittsburgh, being now returned, was invited to sign the articles, which he did accordingly. When we adjourned it was at twelve or one. The snow had fell about two inches.

Thursday, 28 January, 1790. Very cold to-day; as [cold as] I have felt it in this place, but not that biting, stinging cold that we have at home. This evening Anselm Tupper* arrived from another tour in the woods with his men all safe.

Friday, 29 January. The cold continues as yesterday, but clear and pleasant. Blistered my hands in cutting wood on a large beech. In the evening attended Mr. Parsons's auction and bought six yards of Irish linen for two shirts for the doctor at 3s. per yard. It is good linen, and cheaper than can be got in this country. Such they tell me has been sold for 5s. Bought two pounds coffee; also Captain P. and Mr. S., two each, so that we are now like to have coffee for a change, I hope, while I stay. Tea has been our diet night and morning ever since I came, except twice.

Saturday, 30 January, 1790. Spent the most of the day in reading more reviews, monthly and critical, borrowed of Mr. Parsons. Weather considerably moderated, and clear and pleasant. N. B. It should have been noted yesterday that Mrs. Sargent † died about one of the clock of childbed sickness. This evening returned Colonel Meigs and the exploring committee with him, among whom were Commodore Whipple and General Tupper.‡

* Anselm Tupper was the son of General Benjamin Tupper, a well-known Revolutionary officer, and was one of the surveyors of the Ohio Company. He was of the first company that landed at Marietta, April 7, 1788. The father arrived in the following August.—Eds.

† Mrs. Winthrop Sargent was Rowena Tupper, sister of Anselm Tupper and daughter of General Benjamin. Her husband was the well-known secretary of the Ohio Company, and of the Territory. Their marriage on February 6, 1789, was the first solemnized in the Territory. General Rufus Putnam performed the ceremony. See Hildreth's "Pioneer History," p. 249.—Eds.

‡ Colonel Return J. Meigs, a distinguished officer in the Revolution, was one of the surveyors of the Ohio Company. He reached Marietta five days after the

They have returned two or three weeks sooner than they intended, but when they [were] about to proceed up the Hocking, the ice was so thick coming down as to prevent them. They propose going out again in a few days to finish.

Lord's Day, 31 January, 1790. Pleasant and mild, the snow entirely gone. Did not go to meeting to-day, but attended the funeral of Mrs. Sargent in the afternoon. The obsequies were performed with decency and respect.

Monday, 1 February, 1790. Weather rainy and unpleasant, but mild. Finished reading the critical and monthly reviews borrowed of Mr. Parsons. Mrs. Moody inoculated to-day.*

Tuesday, 2 February. Weather much as yesterday. The Court of Quarter Sessions stood adjourned to this day, as the same jury were held to serve at this court. About 10 or 11 the court opened, and some time was lost in collecting a jury, and thirteen being collected, Mr. Fearing, attorney, attended us to the south-east blockhouse, Colonel Meigs's chamber. Indictments were laid before us against two men for fighting, Newell and Sargeant, hunters. Bills were found against them severally. Mr. Woodbridge,† foreman, asked the jury if we had any thing more to present, and nothing being offered, I proposed for the consideration of the jury four articles of complaint to be presented as grievances. I prefaced them with some observations on their necessity and propriety, and the informality of the paper. With leave of the foreman I read them. The question was taken whether the jury would take them up and act upon them. Passed affirmatively. As it was expected it would take some time to deliberate on them, and being near one o'clock, we adjourned to three o'clock. About half-past three the jury met and debated the four articles.

1st Grievance. No law exists against duelling, &c.

2d Grievance. No incorporation of Marietta, and therefore no way of providing for the poor and sick strangers.

3d Grievance. No law licensing and regulating taverns, &c.

4th Grievance. No law against the crime of buying and selling the human species.‡

first party. He became afterward the agent for the Cherokee Indians. His son, of the same name, was governor of Ohio from 1810 to 1814.

Commodore Whipple was a well-known naval officer in the Revolutionary war. He died in 1819, aged 85.

General Tupper served as major of Colonel Fellows's regiment at the siege of Boston, and made two gallant expeditions down the harbor. See Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," pp. 230, 242. Lives of all three of these pioneers may be found in Dr. Hildreth's series of biographies. — Eds.

* For an account of the introduction of the small-pox into Marietta, see Hildreth's "Pioneer History," p. 263. — Eds.

† Dudley Woodbridge succeeded Mr. Parsons as recorder or register, in April, 1790. See Pres. Andrews's "Washington County, and the Early Settlement of Ohio," p. 79. — Eds.

‡ Among these Wallcut papers is a small scrap on which Mr. Wallcut has written these grievances. It is probably the paper from which he read them to the grand jury. The names of the first grand jury are preserved by Dr. Hildreth in his "Pioneer History," p. 233. On the back of this paper of grievances

On the first, only Mr. Winsor and myself voted for it. On the second, passed unanimously affirmative. On the third, passed by a majority of nine affirmatively. On the fourth, passed by a majority of eleven affirmatively. These presentments concluded by referring the court to two former cases of two negroes being sold, and [asking?] that they would concur with the jury in an application to the governor and judges for remedy of these complaints. The court dismissed the jury. Speech of Captain Jona. Morris in the grand jury on the article of duelling. I think every government ought to encourage duelling. It would discourage cowards, and we want brave men to [*illegible*.] His eye and his whole countenance spoke the same language.*

Mr. Wallcut has written the names of the jurors "February Term, 1790, held by adjournment from December, 1789." The names are as follows: Dudley Woodbridge, Abraham Whipple, ——— Stacy, Christopher Winsor, Charles Knowles, William Burnham, William Skinner, Levi Munsell, Joseph Buell, Wanton Casey, ——— Munroe, Jonathan Morris, Thomas Wallcut. — Eps.

* Mr. Wallcut entertained throughout his life very decided opinions on the subject of slavery and offences against good morals, and he was always fearless in the expression of them, and ready for any service he thought himself capable of performing to influence public opinion against these evils. The following is a draught he prepared of an address to Governor St. Clair on his arrival with his family in Ohio, which happened during Mr. Wallcut's visit. Perhaps the opportunity of presenting his "grievances" to the grand jury induced him to suppress this address. There is no mention of it in the diary.

"To His Excellency Arthur St. Clair, Esq., Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Territory of the United States North-west of the River Ohio:

"The subscribers, citizens of Marietta, in the county of Washington, in the Territory aforesaid, congratulate you on your safe arrival in your government with your family.

"We beg leave to observe that, as men, as American citizens, and as Christians, we conceive ourselves born to certain natural inherent and unalienable rights, which we hold to be sacred, and which cannot be violated without endangering the public peace, liberty, and safety; and that infringements upon these rights ought not to go unpunished.

"As friends to the rights of mankind, and following the dictates of that charity and benevolence which we owe to our fellow-men, however the common parent of us all may have distinguished us from each other by complexion, education, or any other circumstance, we cannot but view with serious concern when inroads are made upon the barriers that secure to us these important blessings, or sufficient checks are not provided by law to restrain and punish the inordinate passions of oppressive, cruel, and avaricious men against the innocent, the helpless, and the injured.

"We therefore beg leave to call your Excellency's attention, and to earnestly recommend to your notice, certain abuses and offences against the interests of society and good government which have taken place here, and against which it is said by some there is either no law, or that the laws are insufficient for the remedying and punishing like offences in future.

"The first thing we beg leave to mention is that a certain Isaac Mixer, an inhabitant and innkeeper in this city and county, a man of notoriously vicious character, keeps a disorderly, riotous, and ill-governed house, which is considered by the citizens in general as an intolerable nuisance to the place, and one that will not only bring an odium and prejudice against the inhabitants and their police, but is also, in its tendency, destructive of peace, good order, and exemplary morals, upon which not only the well-being but the very existence of society so much depends.

Wednesday, 3 February, 1790. We had no meeting last night, and Mr. Fearing gone to Wolf Creek to-day.* We had a meeting this evening, and agreeable to the articles elected our officers for this month; Enoch Parsons, President, T. W., Secretary, and Joseph Prince, Treasurer. The question to be debated this evening was referred to the next meeting. The meeting was soon finished, as they wanted to have a card party, and called in Munro and Elliot.† I went home as soon as our meeting was over, and read a critical and English review borrowed of Elliot. Weather much as yesterday. Began to rain pretty hard this evening.

Thursday, 4 February. A pretty smart snow-storm, with cold and high winds; about two or three inches of snow fell.

Friday, 5 February. Pretty cold to-day. This and yesterday seem more like New England winter weather than any I have felt here. Had some talk with Mr. Dodge about going home.‡

"To remedy and prevent the like abuses in future, we beg leave to suggest to your attention whether it is not immediately necessary that a law should be enacted for licensing and regulating taverns and other places of public resort, with proper penalties.

"We next beg leave to observe that we apprehend the said Isaac Mixer has committed a flagrant trespass upon the rights of humanity, the privileges of American subjects, and the peace and happiness of this jurisdiction, as well as the dignity of the United States, in selling a certain negro boy named Prince, about the age of seven years, out of this jurisdiction into the State of Virginia, where slavery is tolerated by law. This atrocious crime, we presume, is against the divine and moral, as well as (according to Judge Blackstone) against the Jewish code, the common law of England, and the ordinance of Congress for the government of the Territory, which we apprehend to be our constitution, and therefore the supreme law of the land. And considering that this is the second instance that the said Mixer has shown his contempt and defiance of the aforesaid sacred rights of mankind, we cannot refrain from expressing to your Excellency our apprehensions that, if this evil is not speedily checked, it may grow to the abominable and degrading traffic of buying and selling our fellow-creatures in this place.

"When so just ideas of rational and constitutional freedom are like the life-giving rays of the sun, darting their benign influence over most of the kingdoms of the world, — while the Christian, the philosopher, and the good men of every community expect and devoutly look forward to the complete emancipation of the whole human race, — it would ill become Americans to wink at crimes so enormous; nay, rather, they would not continue to support their character of being foremost to break and destroy every yoke of slavery, every manacle of tyranny. We therefore trust your Excellency will indulge us so far, and impute it to laudable motives, when we express our earnest wishes that a law may be enacted with heavy penalties, for like abuses in future. In the mean time we cannot but entertain fears that the above-mentioned boy is daily liable to be sold away from place to place, till he may be transported where he will be a slave beyond remedy. At the same time, we beg leave to express our wishes, that, if it is practicable and consistent with law, the said Mixer may be held answerable for his conduct, and the boy reclaimed as a subject of this jurisdiction, and entitled to like privileges with ourselves and our children." — Eds.

* For an account of the Wolf Creek mills, see Hildreth's "Pioneer History," p. 422. Mr. Fearing's father lived there. — Eds.

† Captain Josiah Munroe was of the first company that arrived at Marietta. See Hildreth's "Pioneer History," p. 206. — Eds.

‡ A Captain John Dodge was one of the party of three who built the Wolf Creek mills in 1789. Mr. Wallcut left Marietta and travelled part of the way to Philadelphia with a Mr. Dodge. — Eds.

Saturday, 6 February, 1790. Weather pleasant and milder than yesterday. Employed myself in chopping wood. I feel best those days which are partly improved in exercise.

Lord's Day, 7 February. Did not go to meeting. Pleasant and mild, but windy. Spent the evening with Mr. Gridley,* and drank tea. Colonel Battelle and wife came in after tea to spend the evening. We stayed till about nine or after, and came away together. I accompanied Colonel B. and wife as far as the stockade, and found Mr. Tylas coming down to the point with a lantern which I improved until, about half way, the wind blew it out. Very dark and muddy. Heard of the Wolf Creek men losing their millstones in going with them up Muskingum. They seem to be peculiarly unfortunate or are very careless.

Monday, 8 February. A little snow on the ground this morning. Pleasant and moderate. This evening a man came from Belle Prè to inform of the boat being found and taken up by Captain Stone† at Belle Prè; every thing saved.

Tuesday, 9 February. Cold, clear, and pleasant. Meeting of our society adjourned to to-morrow evening.

Wednesday, 10 February, 1790. Cold and clear. Our meeting again adjourned. The Ohio and Muskingum both so full of ice that there is no passing.

Thursday, 11 February. Society met this evening and debated the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi again, being the question of Mr. Parsons proposed last meeting. A diversity of sentiment prevailed, but all agreed in the probability or certainty of a trade taking place in a few years, by strength or force if not by right or treaty, or some other way. The laws and customs of nations were much insisted on, but they who laid so much stress on them ought to have told us what they were. For my part, I declared my ignorance of them without reserve, and therefore argued only upon the ground of what appear to me the laws of nature, as well as the reason and justice of our right to the trade, the nature and circumstances of the case, &c. A meeting of agents was to sit to-day, but could do no business for want of one member, and adjourned. Sent express for Major Goodale from Belle Prè.

Friday, 12 February. The snow entirely gone. The rivers Ohio and Muskingum both still choked up with the ice, that the passing is very dangerous.

Saturday, 13 February, 1790. The rivers continue so choked with ice that the exploring committee cannot go out to finish their surveys.

Lord's Day, 14 February. Did not go to meeting. Weather unsettled, raw and rainy.

* A William Gridley is mentioned as one of those who came to Marietta the first season. See Horace Nye's "Reminiscences," quoted in Howe's "Historical Collections of Ohio," p. 510. — Eds.

† Captain Jonathan Stone from Massachusetts was one of the Belpre association. See Hildreth's "Pioneer History," pp. 366, 382. — Eds.

Monday, 15 February. The people at Belle Prè having taken out every thing from the boat but the stones and gudgeons,* she was again carried away by the ice and seen by some hunters down about Kanhawa amidst a large cake of ice, so that she could not be come at. However, the pork, flour, bread, beans, hams, and a variety of other articles with some tools were saved at Belle Prè. This affair seems to be a strange medley of good and bad luck.

Tuesday, 16 February. Thaw and rain; the air soft and very foggy. This melts and carries off the ice very fast. The rivers rise. No meeting this evening. I fear ours will be but a short-lived society. They seem to have so little taste and animation for it that we evidently have the symptoms of decay.†

Wednesday, 17 February, 1790. The rivers continue to rise exceedingly fast. Had a meeting this evening. After the business was over, Mr. Parsons resigned his place as president, which was not accepted. The evening spent till twelve o'clock or after, courting him to hold it. Mr. Fearing has been absent two or three meetings, and seems inclined to drop his connection. It has rained considerably to-day.

Thursday, 18 February. Warm and pleasant part of the day, and rain-d part. I went out in the evening before I went to bed and found the back water of Muskingum had come into the creek at the door and above the bridge so as to cover our dam and fill the pond high. Towards night and in the evening, it rained very hard, with thunder and lightning. Expect to be routed again with the high water.

Friday, 19 February. We got up at sunrise this morning. The doctor calling, and telling us the water rose so fast that it would soon be in the house, when I immediately got up. We soon had the tea-kettle on, and got our coffee boiled; and before we could get our breakfast done, the water came in so fast that the floor was afloat, and we stood in water to our buckles to drink the last dish. We had before got such articles upstairs as the water might injure. Everybody on the point below the great bridge is obliged to move. Only three houses are out of reach of the water, owing to their being placed so high. Messrs. Woodbridge (Merchant), Rockwell, Wells (Tailors), Mr. Bent, Prince, Webster, Moody, Skinner, Mixer, Mills, Lucas, Neal, Tuttle, Barber, Landon, Matthews.‡ The flood carries away fences, barrels, and every

* A gudgeon is the iron piece on the end of a wooden shaft on which it turns. See Webster's Dictionary Unabridged. The boat is the same that was lost while on its way to Wolf Creek. See entries of 7th and 8th February. — Eds.

† We have seen no mention elsewhere of this debating society. Its life was probably as short as Mr. Wallcut feared. — Eds.

‡ Mr. Wallcut has left a blank space here, as if he intended to add more names of sufferers from the flood. Dr. Hildreth says, in his account of the floods of the Ohio River, printed in the first part of the first volume of the publications of the Ohio Historical Society (p. 55), that for some years after the settlement of Marietta, there was no flood that did any damage. "The river in the spring and autumn was generally about 'full bank,' but never overflowed so much as to remove fences. Small buildings were erected on the low bottoms near the river, by the early settlers, for the convenience of fattening hogs, &c., and remained there for years without molestation from the water." Mr. Wallcut's account would imply that this freshet of 1790 was something more than the usual "full bank" of the season. — Eds.

thing that will float, so that some are busy in towing the timber off their garden lots to go down the stream, which saves a vast deal of labor (six parts in seven, they say). Went up to Dr. True's pest-house* and got my dinner with Moody. At night carried the doctor's bedding into Mr. Fearing's to sleep, as the doctor is determined to stay and take care of the house. Which he did and slept there. At agents' meeting this week the following business was acted upon,—encouragement for mills, iron-works, salt-works, manufactures, company orders, and a petition of S. Symons in behalf of some people who desire to settle in this purchase.

Saturday, 20 February, 1790. Went up to Mr. Moody's and got my victuals. The river continues to rise; the ice almost all passed down. But it is supposed there have been heavy rains, as well as the Alleghany probably broke up, that cause the present rise, which several besides Colonel Gilman † say is about one foot higher than it was last May. When the water had got up to the top of the stone-work of Mr. Moody's oven, it fell in, which will be not only a heavy loss to him, especially in his present circumstances, but to the settlement, as many depend partly on him for bread. The surveyors' committee, &c., cannot carry out hard bread with them as they used to do till it is rebuilt, which I would not do in the same place again. Slept at Mr. Fearing's again.

Lord's Day, 21 February, 1790. Went down again as usual this morning to the house. They say the water has fallen about twelve or thirteen inches. Found the doctor in the house. He had got some bricks upon the floor, and kindled a little fire. . . . Went to Mr. Woodbridge's ‡ in a canoe, and bought some more sugar, where I received a welcome letter from home, the first word I have heard since I left them. Many particulars that I expected to be informed of I was disappointed in. Mr. Moody received his yesterday afternoon by the same conveyance, Mr. Cutter § of Cambridge going down to Miami in

* When the small-pox appeared at Marietta, a town meeting decided that houses should be put up back of the plain, and the people be inoculated. See Hildreth's "Pioneer History," p. 264. Dr. True's pest-house was probably one of these. Dr. True was an early emigrant to Marietta, and a valued physician and citizen. He died in 1823. His life is in Hildreth's "Memoirs of the Pioneer Settlers." — Eds.

† This is probably Joseph Gilman, from Exeter, New Hampshire, who emigrated to Marietta with his family in 1789, and was appointed probate judge in December of the same year. Dr. Hildreth has a life of him and of his son, Benjamin Ives Gilman, in his pioneer biographies. — Eds.

‡ Dudley Woodbridge kept a general store in Marietta. An account with Mr. Wallcut shows that he sold shoes, "shaloon," &c., as well as groceries. See, also, note on page 181. — Eds.

§ This name may be Cutler. There were families of both names in Cambridge. But Mr. Moody says, in a letter to Mr. Wallcut, dated Marietta, September 14, 1791, "there have been two persons killed by the Indians here lately, a Captain Rogers, and old Mr. Karr, at the mouth of Duck Creek and Wolf Creek; also one Kelly, killed at Belleville, and his son taken prisoner; one Joseph Cutter, who was from Cambridge, either killed or taken prisoner." — Eds.

a Kentucky boat.* I suppose mine got left at Mr. Woodbridge's, and that is why I did not get it last evening. After breakfast took a walk of two or three miles over the hills beyond the hospital towards Duck Creek,† upon the side of the three and eight acre lots. A beautiful mild, pleasant, warm day like May. Have not had so agreeable a walk since I came here. On my return met Captain Knowles‡ and Mr. Burnham going to view their eight-acre lots. I accompanied them and returned with them. I slept this night at Mr. M.'s house. . . .

Monday, 22 February, 1790. . . . The water has abated so that Lucas and Neal and several more are moving back into their houses. . . . After breakfast I busied myself in kindling a fire to dry the house, and after dinner got Mr. Bent to lay the floor, which the water had thrown up together in a confused heap. N. B. The water had risen about four feet upon the floor, and about four and a half without it. Went up about four o'clock and dined. . . . The water has now got so low that we can pass the great bridge§ by the help of rails laid from log to stump and log, &c. In the evening I sat up late to make a large fire to dry the house in the night. Last evening arrived here Captain Thompson, late of Lamb's artillery, with despatches for Governor St. Clair, who is by this time at Kaskias. Went to Judge Gilman and excused myself as one of the appraisers of Joshua Cheever's estate and effects. The doctor showed me, as a natural curiosity of the country, a complete lobster in miniature, about two inches in length, with the tail extended

* A Kentucky boat is described by Judge Burnet in his "Notes on the North-western Territory," p. 49, as a flat boat "made of green oak plank, fastened by wooden pins to a frame of timber, and calked with tow, or any other pliant substance that could be procured."

Mr. Christian Schultz, who visited Marietta in September, 1807, describes (*Travels*, vol. i. pp. 129-132) the various kinds of boats used on the Western rivers and their cost. "Kentucky boats," he says, "are strong frames of an oblong form, varying in size from twenty to fifty feet in length, and from ten to fourteen in breadth; they are built of stout square timber, and before they are sided and roofed in, have much the appearance of old graving scows, excepting that the front part or bow has somewhat of a rake. The gunwales are generally from twelve to twenty-four inches high, and from three to six inches thick; on the top of these are mortised square joists of three or four feet in length, and four or five inches thick, which are sided up like a house with ordinary boards; on the top of these studs are secured the foot of each rafter, on which the roof is laid, which likewise answers the purpose of a main and quarter deck; they are steered by a long swing oar of the whole length of the boat, and generally have from one to three hands to manage a boat, having frequent occasion, when heavily loaded, to use their unwieldy oars in order to keep nearly in the middle of the river. Some of these floating machines, with a shed roof, bear a very striking resemblance to what you daily see in the streets of New York when new houses are building, and generally denominated a lime house." — Eds.

† Duck Creek flows into the Ohio a short distance east from Marietta. It is a considerable stream. — Eds.

‡ Charles Knowles is mentioned by Hildreth ("Pioneer History," p. 233) as a member of the first grand jury, Sept. 9, 1788, and a William Burnham was of the jury on which Mr. Wallcut served. See note on p. 181. — Eds.

§ The great bridge was probably that over Tyber Creek, which empties into the Muskingum in the southern part of the town. See Colonel May's journal, p. 76; Hildreth's "Pioneer History," pp. 225, 226. — Eds.

without the horns. They are found in plenty in streams and springs of water. Mr. Cutler* gave me some alum found on the surveys.

Tuesday, 23 February, 1790. The most part of the day warm and pleasant, so that the roads dry fast, but rain in the night keeps them wet. This morning walked up to the pest-house all the way without the help of a canoe. Did not go to agents' meeting to-day, for staying to take care of the house and make fires to dry the house. I fastened the house to go up to breakfast and dinner, and in the evening drank tea in Captain Prince's house, where I had the pleasure of reading a newspaper (Carlisle) in which was some French news, beside President Washington's speech at the opening of the session of Congress in January. Nothing seems so grateful and welcome here as a letter or newspaper. Slept with him [Captain Prince]. Spent part of the afternoon in the stockade,† talking with the doctor.

Wednesday, 24 February. After breakfast went to the stockade to the meeting of agents to excuse myself from attending on a committee which Colonel Meigs told me yesterday afternoon I was appointed upon, to fix the wages or compensation to the donation committee.‡ I went between ten and eleven, and the meeting was adjourned to to-morrow afternoon, three o'clock. This is a commission I do not like, for several reasons. In the afternoon I went to make a fire and prepare the house for Mr. M. and family to return home, which they did before night. Very high, blustering winds to-day. The long-expected (and second) raft of boards from Wolf Creek arrived this day, but left part on an island coming down. It has been peculiarly unfortunate for all concerned, — the delay and loss occasioned to the proprietors as well as those who have waited for them.

Thursday, 25 February, 1790. Very pleasant but very raw; cold wind and very blustering; so that Mr. Skinner's boat is obliged to return back this morning. They set out yesterday about noon, but it was too rough to proceed. They say the river rose again last night about a foot. At three o'clock went up to the stockade to agents' meeting. I excused myself from the committee to fix the compensa-

* This was probably Jarvis Cutler, son of the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, who was one of the first party of emigrants. Dr. Hildreth gives a sketch of his life in the pioneer biographies. — Eds.

† The stockade, called the "Campus Martius," commenced soon after the settlement, for the protection of the people, is figured from a plan by Winthrop Sargent in Hildreth's history, p. 215, and is described at p. 227. It was not yet finished at the time of Mr. Wallcut's visit. — Eds.

‡ The managers of the Ohio Company at Marietta had no power to give away, or even to sell, the Company's land, and many emigrants passed beyond to Kentucky or to the Miami settlements, who might have been induced to remain at Marietta. This defect was remedied by vote of the shareholders, and a donation committee appointed to select land for actual settlers. The conditions upon which lands were granted are given, from the records of the Company, in Hildreth's history, p. 244. The first donation committee, appointed February 6, 1789, as appears from one of Mr. Wallcut's extracts from the records of the Company, were Rufus Putnam, John Dodge, Griffin Greene, Alexander Oliver, Jonathan Devol, Robert Oliver, Return J. Meigs, Captain Dana, Nathan Goodale. — Eds.

tion to the donation committee. Mr. Backus * was appointed in my room. A report was made, signed Wanton Casey,† chairman of the committee of ways and means for retrieving the credit of the Company funds. The subject of the salt springs which was agitated last week was again brought up. It was first moved by Mr. G. Greene (alias, he had the modesty to ask) that the great salt spring near the Scioto (if it falls within our purchase) should be given away to any one who would find it, &c. That motion did not obtain. At this meeting they (that is, General Tupper, Greene, &c.) came forward again by Colonel Oliver, making a motion that the undertakers should give five per cent to the Company.‡ It was debated some time, and opposed principally by Colonel Sproat,§ and finally referred to the next meeting on Monday next, 9 o'clock. Weather raw and variable. Colonel S. notified the people at meeting that he had warned and requested the people on the point to turn out and mend the bridges, &c. The agents agreed to meet him.

Friday, 26 February, 1790. Weather unsettled and variable. The Muskingum continues to rise;—about another foot from yesterday. About nine or ten o'clock Colonel Sproat comes and rallies all hands to clear the roads of the drifted timber, and mend the bridges that the flood had unsettled, and thrown up some of the timber. I assisted to mend the bridge near our house. It begins to rain when we had done work. After dinner went up to the stockade, and through the politeness of Colonel Meigs was permitted to read the records and to take some extracts from them;—viz.: respecting the conditions of donation land; and the naming of the city and a grant of a square to the Queen of France; also the names of squares, &c.¶ Had some conversation

* This was probably Elijah Backus, from Connecticut, who emigrated early to Marietta. He purchased afterward Blennerhasset's Island.—Eds.

† Wanton Casey was from Rhode Island, and belonged to the Belpre association. He returned to his native state after the Indian war. See Hildreth's "Pioneer History," pp. 273, 387. Among these Wallcut papers is a copy of a letter, dated July, 1811, in which Mr. Casey describes his lands at Belpre, and offers them for sale.—Eds.

‡ Salt was scarce, and commanded a very high price during the early days of the Ohio settlement. The existence of salt springs was known from the reports of white men taken captive by the Indians, and it was supposed that these springs were within the limits of the purchase of the Ohio Company. When the Scioto salt wells were discovered (by Mr. Greene in 1794), they were found to be beyond the Ohio Company's lines, and they finally became the property of the state. See Hildreth's "Pioneer History," pp. 260, 405, 475; Howe's "Historical Collections of Ohio," p. 263. See also below, entry of 2 March.

§ Griffin Greene was a cousin of General Nathanael Greene. Colonel Robert Oliver was from Massachusetts, and was prominent in building the mills on Wolf Creek. Lives of both these pioneers are given by Dr. Hildreth.—Eds.

¶ Colonel Ebenezer Sproat was one of the surveyors of the Ohio Company, and came to Marietta with the first company of emigrants. He was appointed the first sheriff of Washington county, September 2, 1788. His biography is in Dr. Hildreth's collection.—Eds.

¶ These extracts from the records of the Ohio Company are still preserved among the Wallcut papers. They contain nothing that has not been printed already.—Eds.

with Colonel Meigs about a spot for taking up a donation lot, &c. He says Old Town is the place which is now filling up for an association, — as it is the plan of the agents to proceed regularly down the Ohio and up the Muskingum in forming the settlements, so that the *Oxbow* seems to be the only opening at present for me to subscribe in.

Weather rainy and unsettled to-day. This morning arrived here a keel boat going down with a family to settle at Morgan's place among the Spaniards.* About the same time a Kentucky boat with flour for Mr. Greene, Woodbridge, &c. About noon arrived Captain Bullard of Virginia and old Mr. Hubbel of Connecticut, going with two large Kentucky boats of flour down to Orleans. They left the point in the evening. The doctor informs me of plenty of mussels and quahogs up the Muskingum and Wolf Creek; also of a beautiful large butterfly called the Buffaloe, among the natural curiosities of the country.

Saturday, 27 February, 1790. Some frost last night, but a beautiful pleasant and mild morning. Set out to go up to stockade again to-day: going up met Mr. Matthison, who informed me Colonel Meigs is gone to Duck Creek to-day to survey, but I shall have an opportunity in the afternoon to peruse the records again. A large Kentucky boat passed down the river this morning; another passed down soon after. About noon arrived a boat from — which brought a letter from General Putnam directed to — to be communicated to the agents and proprietors of the Ohio Company.† After dinner went up to the stockade, and spent the afternoon in perusing and copying extracts from the records of the Company, till dark. A moderately pleasant and mild day. This evening Mr. Tilas favored me with the reading of four Pittsburg newspapers.

Lord's Day, 28 February. A very pleasant morning, the wind somewhat chilly. Shaved and dressed to go to meeting. Grown mild and warm but something windy so that the roads mend fast. Went to meeting to-day. In the evening wrote some observations on the salt springs.

Monday, 1 March, 1790. Went to agents' meeting this forenoon. The most of the time was taken up in discussing a question proposed by G. Greene, one of the directors, — whether Mr. Story ‡ should be continued as a minister at the expense of the Ohio Company. A letter was read from General Rufus Putnam on the affairs of the Company, particularly that the resolution for a final division, he says, is disapproved of by non-residents as well as himself, &c., and advising a suspension of all further proceedings upon that, or any more surveys, for the present, as two hundred shares are found delinquent, and it is

* Colonel George Morgan's settlement at New Madrid, in what is now the state of Missouri, commenced in 1788. See Monette's "Valley of the Mississippi," vol. i. p. 475; Albach's "Western Annals," pp. 505, 506. — Eds.

† General Putnam resigned his office of probate judge in December, 1789, and may have been at the East on business of the Company at this time. He was appointed United States judge for the Territory, March 31 of this year. — Eds.

‡ For a sketch of the Rev. Daniel Story, the first settled minister in Marietta, see Dr. Hildreth's "Memoirs of the Early Pioneer Settlers," p. 325. — Eds.

probable Congress will have to take back part of the lands, or so much as cannot be paid for. The salt springs were barely mentioned again, and it being late they adjourned after one, to meet again to-morrow morning. Upon a second invitation from Mr. D. Story, I dined with him at Captain Enoch Shepard's,* where he boards, who is brother to General Shepard.

I spent the afternoon in Colonel Meigs's chamber, taking off the names and numbers of lots lying each side of mine, &c. Also went to Mr. Charles Greene's and got the association for Old Town. Carried it home with me, and copied it to return to-morrow. Rain again to-day.

Tuesday, 2 March, 1790. Pleasant and mild this morning and fresh breezes; much frost last night. Went up to the stockade, and returned the paper to Mr. Greene, with my name to it for a lot in Old Town association. Went to the meeting. The time mostly spent as yesterday, but greater variety of questions. Mr. G. Greene and Colonel Oliver refused paying the exploring committee in any other but conditional orders, which produced some warmth in the debates between them and General Tupper, Major Goodale, &c.† Colonel Sproat called upon me, and returned me as a grand jury man for next court; but I informed him I hoped to be on my journey home before that time. He also requested me to write a caption for subscription toward Mr. Story's support, which I did nearly in the following terms, as my memory serves me:—

“Whereas the worship and reverence of the Supreme Ruler of the world is essential to the well-being of society, and is the most solid foundation as well as the surest support of government and good morals, with every thing useful and ornamental to a civilized people; and whereas we, the subscribers, are impressed with a sense of the importance of these blessings, and of our obligations to secure and transmit them to our posterity to the latest generation, we do promise to give in money or labor what is affixed to our respective names, &c., &c.”

In the afternoon the meeting was held in Major Sargent's or Colonel Meigs's room, as Mrs. Winsor‡ was dying or dead of the small-pox. After all the business was over and an adjournment proposed for two weeks, I rose and said: “Mr. Chairman, I have understood that I have the privilege of speaking in this meeting.” This being assented to, I said that I had some observations of a public nature to make, which, as I was not used to public speaking, and to save their

* Captain Enoch Shepard was a valuable citizen of Marietta, interested in the erection of mills, &c. — Eds.

† Among Mr. Wallcut's extracts from the records of the directors and agents of the Ohio Company we find, under date of February 6, 1789, that Judge Parsons, Colonel Crary, and General Tupper were appointed a committee to reconnoitre the lands, and that they were to be paid one dollar a day for this service, and find their own provisions. — Eds.

‡ Christopher Winsor was on the grand jury with Mr. Wallcut. See note, p. 181. Dr. Hildreth says that six persons who took the small-pox by infection died, and two only of the hundred inoculated, and these aged people. See “Pioneer History,” p. 264. — Eds.

time as well as to give my ideas with more precision, I had committed to writing. And having leave to read them, I proceeded and read them through; and then observed, "Mr. Chairman, in addition to this, I think that General Putnam's letter corroborates some of the remarks I have just delivered." General Tupper seemed in a hurry to go somewhere, and again called for an adjournment, as he had for several times. Colonel Oliver, a director, and this afternoon representing Colonel Sproat's agency, moved that as I had as a proprietor offered my sentiments upon a certain measure, by way of protest and remonstrance, it might be put on file (if agreeable to me). Colonel Meigs seconded the motion. General Tupper asked if it should be put on file or lay on the table. It was determined, I think *nem. con.*, that it should be filed. I then said: "Mr. Chairman, if the agents think it fit, I will sign it." This being assented to, I signed and dated, and Colonel Meigs filed it. Mr. G. Greene, a director, then observed that as I was about to return home, I might be wrongly impressed with the subject, and made some observations tending to efface any misconceptions of the subject. I did not see the force or aptness of his remarks, and replied that the matter struck me differently. His remarks were intended to show the impracticability of making the springs a reserved lot; he said it could not be, and that the object of his motion was to prevent the spring from falling into the hands of any individual. I then asked him how that could be the intent of his motion, when he had proposed to give it away to any one, or any number, who would find it out, &c., &c.* The agents being all upon the go, and having other business to attend, the meeting was adjourned for a fortnight. I went to Mr. Gridley's to inform him of the probability of my going next Saturday, that he might have his letters ready, &c. Was urged to stay and take a dish of coffee, which I did. Entering into conversation about the country, donations, settlements, &c., I made out half-past eight o'clock, and went home in the dark, which was very great, with extreme high winds and some rain, the roads very miry. I had a bad time on't. A strange and sudden reverse of good and bad fortune. While we were in Colonel Meigs's chamber at agents' meeting, some people from Wolf Creek informed Major White† that his boards are

* Among Mr. Wallcut's loose papers is a draught of his remarks on the salt springs, perhaps the observations he says he wrote on the Sunday evening before. He objects to the proposal of Mr. Greene to give the springs to the finder, or to lease them for five per cent. He speaks of the uncertainty whether the great springs will be found to be within the bounds of the Company's purchase, and proposes two alternatives, if they be so found. I. That they be reserved as a public lot, the common property of the whole Company, and, after due notice, sold at auction, the proceeds to be kept as a fund for future contingencies and expenses of the Company. The prospect of this will, he thinks, improve the financial condition of the Company. II. As two of the directors have already been empowered to ask Congress for a charter and aid in founding a university, he suggests that these springs be reserved as a grant to the university, and if that project fail, that they make a fund for the support and encouragement of schoolmasters and ministers. — Eds.

† Major Haffield White, from Danvers, Massachusetts, was commissary of the first party of emigrants. With Colonel Robert Oliver and Captain Dodge, he built the mills at Wolf Creek. There is a short biographical sketch of him in Hildreth's "Memoirs of the Early Pioneers," p. 396. — Eds.

not lost, but that the half of the raft which lay under water in the flood now appears on an island.

Wednesday, 3 March, 1790. I expected from the fine temperature of the weather for yesterday and some time past, that we should have no more winter, but I was disappointed this morning. In the latter part of the night and this morning we had a pretty smart snow-storm, with high wind about westerly, but variable. In cutting off a large beech log I felt the force of the cold as sensibly as I have at home often on a winter morning. Very high winds and extreme cold for this country. This is a very sudden and great change of weather from Monday and Tuesday, and indicates, with other instances, the climate as inconstant as Massachusetts. It has grown more moderate this afternoon. Went to Mr. Gilman's, who was so kind as to give me the distances, &c., on the Clarksburg road, extracted from his son's letter.* Called at Mr. Fearing's; not at home.

Thursday, 4 March, 1790. Weather much moderated, though still cold enough. About noon arrived the contractor's boat with provisions, very seasonably, as the garrison had short commons lately.† Went to Mr. Fearing's again to-day. He was not at home. Went up to the stockade again, and got from Colonel Meigs the distances of places on the Ohio. By way of apology, introduced to him the subject of my protest. He says he thinks I was right and justifiable in conduct. He thinks Mr. Greene probably knows more about the spring than he talks of publicly. Went to Captain Knowles's and Mr. Burnham's, and returned him Hutchins's pamphlet about Western Territory, &c.‡ Went to Colonel Battelle's to inform them of my going on Saturday or Sabbath next. Drank tea with them. Introduced to him also the subject of my conduct at agents' meeting. He thought I was justifiable and right in doing it; said he had spoken with some of the agents afterward, who thought well of it.

Friday, 5 March, 1790. Weather unsettled and variable. Spent most of the day reading Tytler's edition of Salmon's Grammar Geographical.§ Wind high and raw. About twelve o'clock William and John Sprague, Henry Bagley, and John Gardner (the same who

* This sentence has been interlined, but Mr. Wallcut has written "N.B. this is right, and should not have been scratched out." — Eds.

† By the middle of May, says Hildreth, the scarcity of food was felt generally. An early frost had spoiled the corn crop of the previous summer, and the woods had been thinned of game. There was quite a famine for a time. See "Pioneer History," pp. 264-266. — Eds.

‡ This was Thomas Hutchins's "Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina, comprehending the rivers of Ohio, Kanhawa, Scioto, Cherokee, Wabash, Illinois, Mississippi, &c." Sm. 8vo. pp. ii, 30, Boston, 1787. It is quite rare. Dr. Belknap's copy is preserved in this Society's Library. — Eds.

§ Thomas Salmon's "Geographical and Historical Grammar" was once a very popular book. Many editions were published, some after the author's death. In Harvard College Library there is a copy of the thirteenth edition, published in 1785, with a new preface and dedication, but we cannot connect the name of Tytler with it. — Eds.

escaped from the Indians)* set out from Muskingum point in a canoe to go hunting down the Ohio. Instead of crossing directly over to the garrison point and keeping the shore, they imprudently and unnecessarily went straight into the Ohio; and the wind blowing very fresh and making a considerable surge, the canoe being pretty heavy loaded, it overset about the middle of the Ohio in a rapid current, and all four of them came very near drowning. But by the timely exertions and assistance from the fort they were all happily recovered. If they had been a quarter or half a mile down the stream they must probably have perished before any help could have been afforded to them. Gardner kept his rifle in one hand a long time, but was obliged to let it go before the help came up to them. In the evening read the journal of the exploring committee who were out in August, 1789, down the Ohio.

Saturday, 6 March, 1790. Pleasant most of the day, but high winds. Assisted Colonel Oliver and Major White to get a pair of millstones aboard a boat to go to their mill up to Wolf Creek. They have had an uncommon series of good and ill luck: first lost a large raft of boards; then their boat carried away down stream, but stopped at Belle Prè and all saved; but before it could be brought up back again the boat and millstones carried away again by the ice, the provisions and a great variety of articles being before taken out were saved; then another raft of boards lost, and part of them since saved and recovered; the remainder, which was supposed to be lost, has appeared since the water fell, found upon an island in the Muskingum. In the midst of this, while they are at Marietta preparing to go up with another pair of stones, Major White has his house burned at Wolf Creek, in which he says he has lost clothing and papers and almost every thing he had. *But they are in good spirits*, and do not seem at all discouraged.

Mr. Fearing has several times expressed his friendship for me, or manifested an approbation and pleasure with my conduct, and says he is sorry I am going away, and loath to part with me, and hopes I shall come again.† Several others have spoken directly to me, or by some other person, I have understood them to be of the same mind. Colonel Oliver, Colonel Meigs, Captain Prince, Mr. Gridley, and some others have shown a similar disposition. It seems I have somehow pleased them, and the people in general, so that from what I can learn my return would be agreeable to them. This affords me great pleasure and gives me satisfaction, with a reasonable hope that my conduct has been generally pleasing. I have some reason to think from what Commodore Whipple told me, that my return would be agreeable to Major Sargent, and that he would assist me in business in his way. Major White, Esquire Wells and his sons, Mr. Rockwell, Mr. Bent, Messrs. Buell, Munsell,

* John Gardner was of the party that settled Waterford. His adventure with the Indians is told in Hildreth's history, pp. 424-428. — Eds.

† Among Mr. Wallcut's papers are two letters from Mr. Fearing. In the first, dated November 14, 1790, he renews the hope that his friend will yet return and settle in Ohio. — Eds.

Colonel Battelle, Messrs. Mills, Barker, Mr. Story and brother, Captain Shepard, Mr. Tilas, Skinner, Parsons, and a number of others, always treat me with respect, and some of them have given me indirect praise. Mr. Woodbridge and his brother Backus treat me with respect, but with more reserve, and coldness that looks like suspicion.

This day settled with Mr. Moody for my board, and the doctor's, including to-morrow, as follows:—

Dr. ——— to N. M., Dr.

1789.				
Oct. 29.	To board from 29 Oct. 1789, to the 7 March, 1790,	}		
	inclusive, being 130 days, or 18 weeks and 4			
	days, @ 3/6 per week, including washing and		£	s. d.
	mending, &c.		3	4 6
	To making two shirts @ 2/		0	4 0
			<hr/>	
			£3	8 6

Errors excepted, N. Moody.

Received Payment,

NATH'L MOODY.

THOMAS WALLCUT to NATHANIEL MOODY, Dr.*

1789.				
Oct. 26.	To board from 26 October, 1789, to the 7 March,	}	£	s. d.
	inclusive, 1790, deducting 25 days, is 105 days,		5	5 0
	@ 7/ per week			
	To 6 pounds pork @ /4 per pound		0	2 0
	To washing 32 pieces @ /3 per piece		0	8 0
	To sundries, snuff, whiskey, bread, &c.		0	6 5
			<hr/>	
			£6	1 5

We are now ready, or shall be, to start to cross the Ohio to-morrow afternoon. We intend to sleep at Williams's,† and start from there by, or before, sunrise. This, we expect, will save us two or three hours, rather than to cross from home in the morning. We hope by this to get through to Clarksburg in three days, and sleep but two nights in the woods.

Lord's Day, 7 March, 1790. Pleasant, but high winds; weather variable. After shaving went up to the stockade to meeting. After meeting took leave of my friends and acquaintance that were there, being prepared and ready to cross the Ohio in the afternoon. At dinner Colonel Meigs, Mr. Fearing, and others brought me letters for their friends, which I stowed away, tied up in my saddle-bags. The minister gave notice that Divine service would be attended next Sabbath at Mr. Munsell's hall on the point.

My acquaintance here discover a politeness and attention that much affects me, several offering their service to help us over the river. The

* The originals of these bills are preserved among the Wallcut papers, and we find also two letters from Mr. Moody. — Eds.

† Isaac Williams, a pioneer in Western Virginia. See note in Colonel May's journal, p. 70, and a biography in Dr. Hildreth's "Memoirs of the Pioneer Settlers," p. 475. — Eds.

gentlemen of our family, with Captain Mills, Mr. Barker, Mr. Bent, &c., propose to get Mr. Mitchell's large boat and carry us over to the Virginia shore. Messrs. Dodge and Proctor, our company, with the doctor, being all ready and together, the wind blew so fresh, and a large surge in the Ohio, with a snow-storm, that most of our friends think it not prudent for us to cross until the wind abates. We waited for the lulling of the storm till sunset, and then gave over the prospect of going over the river to-night. However, I propose to sleep on the floor with the doctor, to-night, that I may be ready early, before day. Mr. Mayo arrived from Belle Prè with letters from himself and Captain Ingersol, &c.

Monday, 8 March, 1790. Pleasant, clear, cold, and high winds. We were up before sunrise, and got some hot breakfast, coffee and toast; and Captain Prince, Mr. Moody, Mr. Skinner, Captain Mills and brother, Mr. Bent, &c., accompanied us over the river to Sargent's or Williams's, and took leave of us about nine o'clock, and we proceeded on our journey. We had gone but a little way when we found the path so blind that we could not proceed with certainty, and I was obliged to go back and get a young man to come and show us the way. When we had got back to our companions again, they had found the road, and we walked twenty miles this day. Weather raw, chilly, and a little snow. The country after about five or six miles from the Ohio is very broken and uneven, with high and sharp hills.

Tuesday, 9 March, 1790. The weather for the most part of the day pleasant, but cold winds, northerly. The country very rough, the hills high and sharp. One third of the road must go over and on the ridges, and another third through the valleys. We walked this day about twenty-three or twenty-four miles, and slept near the forty-fourth or forty-fifth mile tree.

Wednesday, 10 March, 1790. Weather raw and moist. To-day we crossed several of the large creeks and waters that fall into the Ohio. This occasioned a loss of much time, waiting for the horse to come over for each one, which he did as regularly as a man would. The country much the same, but rather better to-day, except that a great deal of the road runs along through the streams, and down the streams such a length with the many bridges that will be wanted, that it will be a vast expense, besides the risk and damage of being carried away every year by the floods. We had so much trouble in crossing these streams that at last we forded them on foot. One of the largest in particular, after we had rode it several times, we waded it four or five times almost knee-deep, and after that a number of times on logs, or otherwise, without going in water. Two of the streams, I doubt not, we crossed as often as twenty times each.* We walked this day about fifteen miles.

* A large map of Virginia, made in 1826, by Herman Böye, a copy of which was presented to the Library of this Society by the General Assembly of that state, shows that Middle Island Creek and its numerous branches were the streams that Mr. Wallcut and his party encountered. — Eds.

Thursday, 11 March, 1790. With much fatigue and pain in my left leg, we walked about fifteen miles to-day. They all walked better than I, and had got to Carpenter's and had done their dinner about two o'clock when I arrived. They appear to be good farmers and good livers, have a good house, and seem very clever people. Mr. C. is gone down the country. They have been a frontier here for fifteen years, and have several times been obliged to move away. I got a dish of coffee and meat for dinner, and paid ninepence each, for the doctor and me. We set off, and crossed the west branch of the Monongahela over to Clarksburgh. The doctor paid his own ferriage. We went to Major Robinson's, and had tea and meat, &c., for supper. I paid ninepence each, for the doctor and me. Weather dull and unpleasant, as yesterday.

Friday, 12 March, 1790. Weather good and pleasant to-day. We set off before sunrise and got a little out of our road into the Morgantown road, but soon got right again. We breakfasted at Webb's mill, a good house and clever folks. Had coffee, meat, &c.; paid sixpence each, for me and the doctor. Lodged at Wickware's, who says he is a Yankee, but is a very disagreeable man for any country, rough and ugly, and he is very dear. I paid one shilling apiece for the doctor's and my supper, upon some tea made of mountain birch, perhaps black birch, stewed pumpkin, and sodden meat. Appetite supplies all deficiencies.*

Saturday, 13 March, 1790. Beautiful weather all day. Set off not so early this morning as yesterday. The doctor paid his ferriage himself. Mr. Moore, a traveller toward his home in Dunker's Bottom, Fayette County, Pennsylvania,† set out with us. He seems a very mild, good-natured, obliging old gentleman, and lent me his horse to ride about two miles, while he drove his pair of steers on foot. The doctor and I being both excessively fatigued, he with a pain in his knee, and mine in my left leg, but shifting about, were unable to keep up with our company, and fell much behind them. Met Mr. Carpenter on his return home. He appears to be a very clever man. When we had come to Field's,‡ I found Mr. Dodge had left his horse for us to ride, and to help us along, which we could not have done without. We got a dish of tea without milk, some dried smoked meat and hominy for dinner; and from about three o'clock to nine at night, got to Ramsay's. Seven miles of our way were through a new

* Mr. Wallcut paid the expenses of his companion, the doctor, on this journey, and among these Wallcut papers we find a memorandum of money spent for him. In it Wickware's is called Wickware's Ferry. The river crossed must have been the Tygart's Valley, or east branch of the Monongahela, and on Böye's map there is a Wickwire's Creek, not far from Three Fork's Creek, which empties into the Tygart's Valley River near the old southern line of Monongalia County. — Eds.

† There is a Dunkard's Creek in the southern part of the present Greene county, Pennsylvania (the next county to Fayette), and a township along its banks called Dunkard. There is also a district in Preston county, Virginia, on Cheat River, called Dunker's Bottom. — Eds.

‡ On Böye's map is a Field's Creek just east of Laurel Mountain. — Eds.

blazed path where they propose to cut a new road. We got out of this in good season, at sundown or before dark, into the wagon road, and forded Cheat River on our horses. Tea, meat, &c., for supper. Old Simpson* and Horton, a constable, had a terrible scuffle here this evening.

Lord's Day, 14 March, 1790. Mr. Dodge is hurrying to go away again. I tell him I must rest to-day. I have not written any thing worth mention in my journal since I set out, until to-day, and so must do it from memory. I want to shave a beard seven days old, and change a shirt about a fortnight dirty; and my fatigue makes rest absolutely necessary. So take my rest this day, whether he has a mind to go or stay with us. Eat very hearty of hominy or boiled corn with milk for breakfast, and boiled smoked beef and pork for dinner, with turnips. After dinner shaved and shirted me, which took till near night, it being a dark house, without a bit of window, as indeed there is scarce a house on this road that has any.†

Monday, 15 March, 1790. Waited and got some tea for breakfast, before we set out. Settled with Ramsay, and paid him 9*d.* per meal, for five meals, and half-pint whiskey 6*d.* The whole came to eight shillings. Weather very pleasant most of the day. We walked to Brien's about half-past six o'clock, which they call twenty-four miles. We eat a little fried salt pork and bit of vension at Friends',‡ and then crossed the great Youghiogheny. About two miles further on, we crossed the little *ditto* at Boyles's. My thorogonimbles § are stopped; five or six times to-day they have arrested me. Poor Dodge is the worst, he has had about thirty bouts, and they last him till night; mine stopped at noon; the doctor and Proctor not so much affected. We walked about or near an hour after dark, and were very agreeably surprised to find ourselves at Brien's instead of Stackpole's, which is four miles further than we expected. Eat a bit of Indian bread, and the woman gave us each about half a pint of milk to drink, which was all our supper.

Tuesday, 16 March, 1790. We were up this morning, and away about or before sunrise, and ascended the backbone of the Alleghany, and got breakfast at Williams's. I cannot keep up with my company. It took me till dark to get to Davis's.¶ Messrs. Dodge and Proctor had gone on before us about three miles to Dawson's.¶ We got some

* There was a famous hunter and trapper named John Simpson who gave his name to a creek in Western Virginia. This may have been the person. — Eds.

† Mr. Wallcut leaves a blank space here, and writes the heading "Character of Old Simpson." — Eds.

‡ Friendsville is a village on the east bank of the Youghiogheny, about seven miles south of the Pennsylvania line. This may be the place where the party crossed the river. See Fisher's "Gazetteer of the State of Maryland." — Eds.

§ Thorough go Nimble, a looseness, a violent purging. Grose's "Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue," s. v. — Eds.

¶ The memorandum of expenses calls this "Old Davis's on the Potomac." — Eds.

¶ Fisher's "Gazetteer" gives Dawson's as a post office in Alleghany county, on the north-west side of the Potomac River, eleven miles south-west of Cumberland. — Eds.

bread and butter and milk for supper, and drank a quart of cider. Mr. Davis was originally from Ashford, county of Windham, Connecticut; has been many years settled in this country; has married twice, and got many children. His cider in a brown mug seemed more like home than any thing I have met with.

Wednesday, 17 March. We were up this morning before day, and were set off before it was cleverly light. Got to Dawson's, three miles, where Messrs. D. & P. lodged, and got some tea for breakfast, and set off in good season, the doctor and I falling behind. As it is very miry, fatiguing walking, and rainy, which makes extremely painful walking in the clay and mud, we could not keep up with D. We stopped about a mile and a half from the Methodist meeting near the cross roads at Cressops,* and four from Cumberland, and got some fried meat and eggs, milk, butter, &c., for dinner, which was a half pistareen each. After dinner the doctor and I walked into Cumberland village about three o'clock, and put up at Herman Stitcher's or Stidger's. We called for two mugs of cider, and got tea, bread and butter, and a boiled leg of fresh young pork for supper. The upper part of the county of Washington has lately been made a separate county, and called Alleghany, as it extends over part of that mountain, and reaches to the extreme boundary of Maryland. The courts, it is expected, will be fixed and held at this place, Cumberland, which will probably increase its growth, as it thrives pretty fast already. We supped and breakfasted here; paid 2s. for each, the doctor and me. Pleasant fine weather this day. My feet exceedingly sore, aching, throbbing, and beating. I cannot walk up with my company.

Thursday, 18 March. Paid Mr. Dodge 6s. advance. A very fine day. We stayed and got breakfast at Stitcher's, and walked from about eight o'clock to twelve, to Old Town, and dined at Jacob's, and then walked to Dakins's to lodge, where we got a dish of Indian or some other home coffee, with a fry of chicken and other meat for supper. This is the first meal I have paid a shilling L. M. for. The country very much broken and hilly, sharp high ridges, and a great deal of pine. About . . . miles from Old Town, the north and south branches of the Potomac join. We walked twenty-five miles to-day.†

Friday, 19 March, 1790. Very fine weather again to-day. We walked twenty-four miles to McFerren's in Hancock, and arrived there, sun about half an hour high. McFerren says this town has been settled about ten or twelve years, and is called for the man who laid it out or owned it, and not after Governor Hancock. It is a small but growing place of about twenty or thirty houses, near the bank of the Potomac, thirty-five miles below Old Town, and five below Fort Cumberland; twenty-four above Williamsport, and ninety-five above

* Cresap Town is six miles south-west of Cumberland on the state road. See Fisher's "Gazetteer." — Eds.

† In his memorandum of expenses, Mr. Wallcut enters "dinner at Jacob's in Skipton or Fort, tenpence." The branches of the Potomac join only a few miles below Old Town. — Eds.

Georgetown. We slept at McFerren's, a so-so house. He insisted on our sleeping in beds, and would not permit sleeping on the floors. We all put our feet in soak in warm water this evening. It was recommended to us by somebody on the road, and I think they feel the better for it.*

Saturday, 20 March. A very fine day again. We have had remarkably fine weather on this journey hitherto. But two days we had any rain, and then but little. We stayed and got breakfast at McFerren's, and set out about eight o'clock, and walked about twenty-one miles this day to Thompson's,† about half a mile from Buchanan's‡ in the Cove Gap in the North Mountain. My feet do not feel quite so bad this day, as they have some days. I expect they are growing stronger and fitter for walking every day, though it has cost me a great deal of pain, throbbing, beating, and aching to bring them to it. It seems the warm water last night did me some good.

Lord's Day, 21 March, 1790. We set off this morning before daylight was clear, and went a pretty smart step till about half-past eight brought us to Campbell's,§ which is eight miles in about two hours and a half. Got a good breakfast and set off immediately. We walked very smartly and very steadily, and they got to McKanlis's in Shippensburg.|| the sun an hour high; the doctor a little later, and I got in just at sunset. On the way, about one o'clock, we stopped and got oats, &c., for the horse, and we got a pint of milk apiece. The doctor seems out of humor with something. He asked for bread and a half-pint more, and he had it. The road has grown very fine comparatively, and the weather is exceedingly fine, almost too warm to travel in. Went in the evening and heard a Mr. Copeley, an Englishman and Methodist, pray, &c. He was concluding when I got there. He has a son who lives in this place, and wants to write by me to a brother he has at the manufactory in Hartford. He appears to be a traveller, &c.; but whether he may be called a travelling preacher or exhorter, I know not. We made a hearty supper of tea and fresh pork fried, and went to bed — that is, to lie on the plank as usual — about nine.

* In his memorandum of expenses for the 19th, Mr. Wallcut has "breakfast at Tonym's the Irishman, one shilling"; and "one pint of cider at Widow Farrells", sign of the Swan, fourpence." — Eps.

† In his memoranda Mr. Wallcut puts "Airetown" after Thompson's. Ayr is a township of Fulton county. See Egle's "History of Pennsylvania," p. 767. — Eps.

‡ This was probably James Buchanan, the father of the fifteenth President of the United States. See Egle's "History of Pennsylvania," p. 758; Day's "Historical Collections of Pennsylvania," p. 354. — Eps.

§ In Reading Howell's large map of Pennsylvania, 1792, many of the taverns on the great road to the West are indicated. This of Campbell's is between Loudon and Chambersburg. Mr. Wallcut's memorandum locates it in Petersburg. See also Dr. Harris's "Journal of a Tour to Ohio," p. 72, which places it at the "Cold Springs." — Eps.

|| Shippensburg is one of the oldest towns in Pennsylvania, west of the Susquehanna river, and in the early days of Western travel was a place of considerable importance. See Egle's "Pennsylvania," p. 631. — Eps.

Monday, 22 March, 1790. Up and away before sunrise, and walked to breakfast to McCracken's.* He has been an officer in the continental army. I find it will not do for me to try any longer to keep up with my company, and as they propose going through Reading, and we through Philadelphia, we must part to-night or to-morrow. I conclude to try another seven miles, and if I cannot keep up, we part at Semple's, the next stage. They got to Semple's† before me, and waited for me. I conclude to stay and dine here, and part with Messrs. Proctor and Dodge. I am so dirty; my beard the ninth day old, and my shirt the time worn, that I cannot with any decency or comfort put off the cleaning any longer. I again overhauled the letters, as I had for security and care taken all into my saddle-bags. I sorted them and gave Mr. Dodge his, with what lay more direct in his way to deliver, and took some from him for Boston and my route.

I paid Mr. Dodge three shillings more in addition to six shillings I had paid him before at the Widow Carrel's.‡ according to our agreement at twelve shillings to Philadelphia; and as we had gone together and he had carried our packs three hundred miles (wanting two), it was near the matter. He supposed I should do right to give him a shilling more. I told him as I had agreed with him at the rate of fifty pounds, when they did not weigh above thirty-five, and at the rate of going up to Pitt instead of returning, which is but half price, I thought it was a generous price, and paid him accordingly as by agreement. We wished each other a good journey, and Mr. Proctor, the doctor, and I drank a mug of cider together. When we had got cleaned, a wagoner came along very luckily, and dined with us, and going our way, we put our packs in his wagon, and rode some to help. We gave him a quarter of a dollar for this half day and to-morrow. We got to Carlisle in the evening and put up with Adam at Lutz's.

This Carlisle is said to be extremely bad in wet weather. It probably is nearly or quite as bad as Pittsburg, Marietta, Albany.§ I went to Lutz's because Adam puts up there, he being of his nation, but it is a miserable house, and Adam says he is sorry he carried us there. The victuals were good, but they are dirty, rough, impolite. We supped on bread and milk, and Lutz would insist on our sleeping in a bed and not on the floor; so we did so.

Tuesday, 23 March, 1790. A pleasant day and the roads very much dried, so that the travelling is now comfortable. We dined at Callender's in more fashion than since I left home. Adam stopped at Simpson's so long that it was dark when we got over the river to

* Mr. Wallcut says (memoranda of expenses) that Captain McCracken's is in the township of Newton. It is laid down on Howell's map as about six miles from Shippensburg. — Eds.

† Semple's or Sample's is in West Pennsboro', according to Mr. Wallcut's memorandum. See also Colonel May's journal, p. 105. — Eds.

‡ See entry of Thursday, the 18th inst. — Eds.

§ There is a good account of Carlisle in Dr. Egle's "History of Pennsylvania," pp. 623-631. — Eds.

Chambers's, where we stopped another half hour.* Set off about seven o'clock, and got to Toot's about eleven. All abed, but Adam got us a bit of bread and butter, and made us a fire in the stove, and we lay on the floor.†

Wednesday, 24 March, 1790. Old Toot is a crabbed . . . He has been scolding and swearing at Adam all this morning about something that I cannot understand. It has rained last night, and the roads are again intolerable. Adam says he cannot go again until his father says the word, and that may not be this two or three days. But we cannot go and carry our packs on our backs now, the roads are so bad, and we should gain nothing to walk, but spend our strength to little or no purpose. We must wait for a wagon to go along our way, and join it, or wait for the roads to grow better.

Carried our dirty things to wash; two shirts, two pair stockings, and one handkerchief for me; two shirts, two pair stockings, and one pair trowsers for the doctor. Went to several places to look for shoes for the doctor. He could not fit himself at the shoemakers, and bought a pair in a store for 8s. 4d. Pennsylvania, or 6s. 8d. our currency. We went to Henry Moore's, the sign of the two Highlanders. I drank a quart of beer and dined. Old Toot is a supervisor, and is gone to Harrisburg to-day, to settle some of his business.

Thursday, 25 March, 1790. The sun rises and shines out so bright to-day that I am in hopes the roads will be better, at least, when we go. Old Toot could not finish his business yesterday, and is gone again to-day. He is uncertain when he shall send Adam forward to Philadelphia, perhaps not until Monday. It will not do for us to stay, if we can somehow get along sooner. Time hangs heavy on our hands, but we do what we can to kill it. The doctor and I went down to Moore's and dined together, which was a shilling L. M. apiece. We then came back to Toot's and drank a pint of cider-royal ‡ together. The house is for the most part of the day filled with Germans, who talk much, but we cannot understand them. We have coffee and toast, or meat for breakfast, and mush and milk for supper. Our time is spent in the most irksome manner possible; eating and drinking, and sleeping and yawning, and attending to the conversation of these Dutch. In the evening the house is crowded with the neighbors, &c., and for the . . . § Old Toot says, and Adam too, that he will not go till Monday. This is very discouraging.

Friday, 26 March, 1790. A very dull prospect to-day. It rained very hard in the night, and continues to rain this morning. No

* Callender's is laid down on Howell's map about five miles beyond Carlisle. Simpson's and Chambers's are on opposite banks of the Susquehanna river, a short distance below Harrisburg. — Eds.

† Mr. Wallcut's memorandum of expenses shows that "Old Toot's" was in Middletown. — Eds.

‡ Cider-royal was "made by boiling three or four barrels of fresh apple-cider down to one or less, thus adding to its strength as a beverage." Atkinson's "History of Kanawha County," p. 188. — Eds.

§ There is a line left blank here. — Eds.

wagons are passing, and none coming that we can hear of. We have no prospect now but to stay and go with Adam on Monday. We stay at home to-day and murder our time. We read McFingal, or Ballads, or whatever we can pick up. We had coffee and toast and fresh fried veal for breakfast, and ate heartily, and so we eat no dinner. The doctor goes out and buys us 8*d.* worth of cakes, and we get a half-pint of whiskey, which makes us a little less sad. In comes a man to inquire news, &c., of two men from Muskingum. He had heard Thompson's report, which had made so much noise and disquiet all through the country. He had three Harrisburg papers with him, which give us a little relief in our dull and unwelcome situation. At dark there come in two men with a wagon and want lodging, &c. They stay this night, and with them we find an opportunity of going forward as far as Lancaster, which we are determined to embrace.

Saturday, 27 March, 1790. We stay and get a good breakfast before we set out, and agree to give Mr. Bailey 2*s.* L. M. for carrying our baggage. This is higher than any thing it has cost us on the road in proportion, but we cannot help it. It is better than to waste so much time in a tavern. It rains steadily, and the road is all mush and water. Before I got on a hundred rods I am half-leg deep in mire. Set off about eight o'clock, and overtook the wagon about two miles ahead. However, it clears off before night, and the sun shines warm, and the roads mend fast. We made a stay in Elizabethtown about two hours to feed and rest. The doctor and I had two quarts of beer and some gingerbread and buckwheat cakes for dinner. We got to Colonel Peden's to lodge, which is eighteen miles through an intolerable bad road, to-day.* (Elizabethtown, about fifty houses; Middletown, about an hundred houses.) We paid our landlady this evening, as we are to start so early in the morning it would not do to wait till the usual time of getting up to pay then, and we have got nine miles to go to reach Lancaster.

Lord's Day, 28 March, 1790. We started this morning at day dawn, and got to — at the Black Horse, four and a half miles to breakfast. The wagon went by us, and fed at Shoop's. I left the doctor with them and to take care of the things, and walked into the town before them. Stopped at Gross's, the Spread Eagle, and left word for the doctor, which they never told him. I heard the bell ring for church just as I got here, which made me go into town after waiting some time for them. Took leave of Mr. Bailey, &c.† I went to the English Episcopal Church, and then went back to look for the doctor, and he looking for me; we were some time in chase, and missed each other. Found we could not get served at the Angel, so took our baggage and walked down to Doersh's, who keeps the stage.

* Mr. Wallcut notes in his expenses for this day, "to Fisher's ferriage over Sweetara Creek, twopence"; and "supper at Colonel Peden's in Raphoe, tenpence." Rapho is a township in the northern part of Lancaster County. — Eds.

† Mr. Wallcut notes among his expenses, "paid David Bailey for carrying pack to Lancaster, one shilling." — Eds.

Got dinner here. Shaved, shirted, put on my boots, and went out into town. Stopped at the court-house and heard a Methodist. Walked further about; stopped and looked into the Catholic chapel, and talked with the priest. Looked into the churches, such as I could, and returned to tea at sundown. Spent the remainder of the time till bed reading newspapers. Washed my feet and went to bed just before ten.

Monday, 29 March, 1790. After breakfast the doctor and I took a ramble about the town, to look at it and to inquire if we could find any wagon going to Philadelphia, that we can get our baggage carried. The most likely place we can hear of is to go to the Creek, about a mile from town. Immediately after our walk we settled and paid, and set out at just eleven o'clock. Paid toll over Conestoga bridge, and stopped at Locher's, at the Indian King, two miles from Lancaster, and drank a quart of beer. It was not good. Dined at Blesser's, on a cold meal, which was 8*d.* L. M. apiece. Got to Hamilton's at Salsbury, a very good house; nineteen miles.* This is more than I expected when I set out at eleven o'clock. A very good supper; rye mush and milk, cold corn beef, and apple pie on the table. But 8*d.* L. M. for supper and lodging apiece. We have had very good weather for travelling, and the roads are drying fast. In hopes that we shall find some wagon going on the Philadelphia road, that we may get our packs carried part of the way.

Tuesday, 30 March, 1790. We walked twenty-four miles this day, that is, from Hamilton's to Fahnstock's. Very pleasant weather, suitable for travelling; not too warm nor too cold. My feet very tender and sore, but we keep along steady. Got to Fahnstock's, Admiral Warren, about eight o'clock. Got some bread and milk for supper. The doctor had nothing but a pint of cider for his supper. We slept well, considering my being excessively fatigued. The post overtook us.†

Wednesday, 31 March. Stayed to breakfast this morning, which was very good, but I do not like the practice, at least I do not seem to need eating meat with breakfast every morning. I sometimes eat it two or three times a day because it is set before me, and it is the fashion to have meat always on the table. We dined about seven miles from Philadelphia;‡ crossed the Schuylkill about sunset, and walked into town about dark. Crossed the Schuylkill over the floating bridge, and paid our toll, 1*d.* Pennsylvania each. After looking and walking about a good deal, we stopped, and went into the Widow Paul's, who said she was full, and sent us to Mr. Samuel Davis at the White Horse, where we lodged.§

* Blesser's was in Leacock township, and Hamilton's sign was the Bull. These notes are from Mr. Wallcut's memoranda of expenses. — Eds.

† Mr. Wallcut notes as his expenses for the 30th March, "breakfast at Ashe's in West Calne, eightpence," and "dinner and one gill whiskey at Downing's, one shilling and twopence." These places are in Chester County. — Eds.

‡ Mr. Wallcut notes among his expenses, "cold dinner with cider at Sticker's, seven miles from Philadelphia." — Eds.

§ Samuel Davis kept at No. 2 Elbow Lane, a small lane running south from High (now Market) Street, between Second and Third Streets. — Eds.

Thursday, 1 April, 1790. Fine, pleasant weather; very much fatigued. About ten or eleven got rested, and shaved, and then walked out to see the town, market, &c. Inquired for some cloth; found a good and handsome raven black at Hugh Ferguson's and Daniel Lapsley's. In the evening Dr. Thomas, the doctor, and I went to St. Paul's, and heard Mr. Pilmore preach a sermon preparatory to fast, it being Good Friday to-morrow.*

Friday, 2 April. Went to St. Peter's Church this forenoon, where Bishop White read the service, and Mr. Behn preached.† In the afternoon (it rained excessive hard) went to Christ Church, and heard Mr. Blackwell. Afterward went to the new German chapel and saw the holy sepulchre, &c. Could not get in at the other chapels.

Saturday, 3 April, 1790. A very fine day after the rain. Went over the way across the market, and had some conversation with Friend Joseph Crukshank,‡ who appears not only a friend by profession, but friendly indeed. Our talk was mostly on the Indians and negroes, and he gave me six pamphlets to disperse, and a number of others for myself, and I bought five or six of him amounting to 2s. 9d. or 2s. 10d. L. M.

Went to Lapsley's and bought two and a quarter yards raven black superfine cloth at five dollars per yard. Got $2\frac{1}{4}$ for eleven dollars. Bought lining and trimmings at Friend Amos Taylor's, amounting to 14s. 10d. Pennsylvania. Carried all to David Brooks§ to make, who first wet it as I directed, and I went with him and saw it. In the afternoon went to the button manufacturer's, and to see the almshouse and hospital,—"No entrance without paying sixpence"; but a half pistareen was the first bit I happened to take out, and I would not change it, so gave the whole. I visited the crazy rooms, and cells, &c.|| Went into the new chapel again on my return, and found the tomb taken down. Wrote a letter this evening to G. R. Minot, Esq.

Lord's Day, 4 April, 1790. The doctor and I took a walk this morning down to the wharves, and left a letter with Captain Norton, "Polly, of Martha's Vineyard," for G. R. Minot, Esq. She sails this forenoon.

This forenoon went to the Old Chapel and the Second Chapel, and heard mass, and Father Beeston preach. Afternoon went again to hear

* Biddle's Philadelphia Directory for 1791 has a David Lapsley, a storekeeper. Robert Thomas was a druggist at No. 9 North Third Street. The Rev. Joseph Pilmore was an Episcopal clergyman, at this time the assistant at St. Paul's Church. He had been in early life a follower of Wesley. See Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit," vol. v. pp. 266-270. — EDS.

† The Rev. Joseph G. Bend was an assistant minister of the united parishes of Christ Church and St. Peter's from 1787 to 1791. See Dorr's "Historical Account of Christ Church," p. 212. He is doubtless the person intended. — EDS.

‡ Joseph Crukshank was a printer and bookseller at No. 91 High Street. See Biddle's Directory. — EDS.

§ David Brooks was a tailor at No. 9 Elbow Lane, close by the inn where Mr. Wallcut lodged. — EDS.

|| The Pennsylvania Hospital was founded in 1751. Dr. George B. Wood delivered an address at the centennial celebration, which was printed. — EDS.

Father Fleming,* but was disappointed. The young German priest sang vespers. In the evening went to the great Presbyterian Church (Dr. Sproat and Mr. Green)† and heard Mr. Blair preach from "Who knoweth what is good for man all the days of his life?"

Monday, 5 April, 1790. A fine, pleasant day. Went round this morning to buy some provision for the doctor to carry with him. Got measured at the tailor's for my coat, and then walked with the doctor out of town near as far as the bridge stone on his journey to New York. It will take him three or four days to walk there, and I hope to be there by Friday or Saturday evening.‡ This forenoon I went to the German chapel again, expecting to hear Father Fleming preach, and was again disappointed. I told the tailor that if he would get my coat done to go to the play this evening I would give him two dollars. He could not, and I went to the play without it.

Spent most of the afternoon in the bookshops in Market Street,—Aitken, Seddons, Prichard & Hall, &c. Bought a history of Pennsylvania for two dollars. About six o'clock I bought a gallery ticket, half a dollar, and went up. Spent fourpence-halfpenny for cake, beer, and apples, and got in seasonably to sit near the front of the gallery. "Macbeth" was the tragedy, and "The Wrangling Lovers" was the intended farce, but some accident happening in the tragedy they were obliged to put off that and give us "High Life Below Stairs."§ It was over about twelve, and I went home, but could not get in. Went to the Old Ferry, and got lodgings for fourpence-halfpenny.||

The Committee reported also for publication the following "Extract from the Journal of Charles Turner, Jr., Esq.," copied by Mr. Wallcut.

Charles Turner, Jr., was a descendant in the seventh generation from Humphrey Turner of Scituate. His father, the Rev. Charles Turner (H. C. 1752), was for twenty years the minister of Duxbury, and the son was born there June 20, 1760. The compiler of the family genealogy says that he was engaged in public business of various kinds for more than half a century. He was a general favorite of the people, and was chosen to fill many offices. He was appointed the first postmaster of Scituate, and was a member of both branches

* The Rev. Francis Fleming's name is in Hardie's Philadelphia Directory for 1793. — Eds.

† The Rev. Dr. James Sproat and Mr. Ashbel Green were colleague pastors of the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia at this time. — Eds.

‡ From some of Mr. Wallcut's memoranda it is probable that he joined the doctor in New York, and that both took passage for Boston in "Barnard's packet," on the 19th. In a draught of a letter, probably to Mr. Davis, he says: "We tarried in New York about eight or ten days, and arrived in Boston the 23d of April, in good health." — Eds.

§ The theatre was in Southwark, as the town authorities would not allow one in Philadelphia. See Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia," vol. i. p. 473. — Eds.

|| The diary ends abruptly here. — Eds.

of the state legislature. In 1808 he was elected to represent the Plymouth district in Congress as a Republican. In 1824 he was made steward of the United States Marine Hospital at Chelsea, which office he held fourteen years. He died at his farm in Scituate, May 16, 1839, aged seventy-nine. He married in 1789 Hannah Jacob, by whom he had a large family of children.*

At the time this journal was written, Mr. Turner was a surveyor, and in this capacity engaged in locating the grants and sales of what were known as Eastern Lands. He was thus employed several years. In the Collections of this Society (2d Series, vol. viii. pp. 112-116) is a description of Mount Katahdin, taken from a letter written by him "in the summer of 1804, which was one of the several seasons in which he has been employed in the interior and north of the district of Maine, as a surveyor."

1802. August 26th. At 10 o'clock, A.M., between Campo Bello and Grand Manan Islands. Campo Bello is an island lying in the mouth of Schoodic River, above or north of which is a large bay called Passamaquoddy Bay, and the river running across the west end of the bay takes the name of Passamaquoddy River, from thence to the mouth. Campo Bello is one of the islands claimed by the United States, because the largest channel and deepest waters of the Schoodic run out on the easterly side of the island; it is claimed also by the British government, because the west passage is the straitest, and nearly the same course of the river above; it is settled by British subjects, and is from its situation an excellent place to smuggle goods, and the inhabitants have well learned the trade. Grand Manan Island is the largest in the Bay of Fundy, containing several thousand acres. There is on it a considerable settlement of British subjects. Some have supposed that the line from St. Mary's to the mouth of St. Croix, alias Schoodic River, as by the treaty with Great Britain, will cross said island. How these clashing claims will be settled, time only must determine — for my part, if the whole of said islands should belong to the United States, and be so determined, I should think it best to give them to the British rather than take them with the inhabitants, and especially as it would entirely break up the trading and smuggling houses, (now well established and mutually beneficial,) and oblige those concerned to begin anew in perhaps more disadvantageous situations. In the evening anchored off Point La Proe; only three gallons of water on board; calm. From West Quoddy Passage to Point La Proe is nine leagues; from thence to St. John, seven leagues. Tides in the Bay of Fundy set east north-east and west south-west. About three knots westward of Point

* See Winsor's "History of Duxbury," p. 202 n.; Deane's "History of Scituate," pp. 163, 361; Turner's "Genealogy of the Descendants of Humphrey Turner," pp. 27, 53. — Eds.

La Proe is a small harbor called Beaver Harbor, which lies north from the easternmost of a number of small rocky islands called The Wolves. The Wolves lie easterly from West Quoddy Head, four leagues; good water round and between them, going into Beaver Harbor; keep the larboard hand best aboard, and come to against the houses; seven or eight fathoms of water. Point La Proe has a small harbor on the easterly side. Split Rock or Negrohead is three and a half leagues from Point La Proe; just south of Split Rock is Musquash Harbor; good going in, keep the starboard hand best aboard; a ledge on the larboard hand; in easterly winds anchor on the easterly side, in westerly winds on the west side.

27th. At noon, abreast of Split Rock, which is three leagues from St. John's lighthouse. From Split Rock to the lighthouse is north-east by east, having regard to tides and winds; rocks on the larboard hand very high, diversified red and blue, high ledges, but good water. Point Mispook and Cape Spencer make the easterly chop of St. John's Harbor. At 3 o'clock, P.M., come to anchor at the city of St. John.* This city is built on land as rocky and uneven as Marblehead, is about as large as old Plymouth, is well laid out; it has an excellent harbor, by having an island which breaks off the sea, and on which stands a lighthouse. Good water on either side the island, and deep water in the harbor; it will probably be a large city in some future time, under the government of the United States, or at least independent of Great Britain, who, jealous of the growing importance of its American Colonies, and having been taught by fatal experience, is willing, if not able, to retard and obstruct the too rapid population of them. The city has at present one large, handsome church, and a county court-house, in a handsome square near the water, and (to their honor) several schoolhouses. Back of the city, on a rocky eminence, is a fort and a blockhouse (which, by-the-by, serves about as good a purpose for the defence of the city against a naval attack, as Fort Independence does against an attack on Marblehead). About a mile above the city, the river is so contracted by high, rocky banks, that the tide (which ebbs and flows ordinarily about thirty feet perpendicular) forces in and out with such violence as to be impassable with vessels of any size, except at about half-tide, when the waters above and below are level.†

28th. In the morning applied to Mr. Bliss, collector and naval officer of the port, for a permit to land our provisions and other articles, all of which except bread were prohibited; he, however, was not disposed to seize them, appeared willing to forward our undertaking, and gave us a permit to land stores, baggage and provisions, which general terms would include almost every article in the vessel, and she was nearly loaded at Boston with goods intended to be smuggled. On

* New Brunswick was set off from Nova Scotia in 1784, when, by a royal charter, a constitution was granted the new province. The order in Council is dated June 18, 1784. The lands were granted chiefly to loyalists from the American States, and St. John was founded by them. See Mills's "Colonial Constitutions," p. 204. — Eds.

† See 1 Mass. Hist. Collections, vol. iii. p. 99. — Eds.

our delivering our permit to the tide waiter, he observed in the hearing of all the passengers, that we had a right to land what we pleased without search. This was noticed by them, and they applied to us to claim casks, chests, &c., and many goods were landed in sight of the tide waiter, under our permit, which he knew were not ours, and when we called on the captain for our bill of freight, the tide waiter pleasantly cautioned us not to pay the freight of the goods smuggled under our permit. Having shifted our provisions, &c., to the Frederickton packet, we paid our respects to the Lord Mayor, by whom we were treated with as much politeness as we could expect from a Provincial officer, aping the hauteur of the British. At the invitation of Mr. Munday, we drank tea with Mr. McCall,* a refugee from York State — very polite.

29th. At 9 o'clock, came to sail in the Frederickton packet, Captain Sagee,† with a number of passengers, among whom a Mr. Bradley, late a lieutenant in the New Brunswick Regiment, and his lady, — persons of sound sense, good breeding, and real politeness, — gave us much information. Packets, like stages, often contain as great a variety of characters, almost, as a country produces. If our company had been cooked, we should have been a complete olio; but the variety was in many respects pleasing, and there is hardly a human being so small in capacity, or so degenerate, by whom no information may be gained, or moral reflection excited. Here we commenced our passage from the city of St. John to Frederickton, the seat of government of the province of New Brunswick, which lies ninety miles up the River St. John, at the head of tide waters. After sailing about fifteen miles up the river, the land on either side very high, mostly rock, small growth of wood, we opened a large bay on the left, called South Bay, and a large river on the right, said to be navigable thirty miles, called by the Indians Kennebecasees, or little Kennebeck, coming from the east. Soon after crossing South Bay, we entered Long Reach, eighteen miles in length, lying north-east and south-west. The banks of the river gradually less steep and rocky, and better land; considerable settlements scattered up and down on either side, large fields of potatoes and buckwheat, considerable grass.

30th. Breakfasted abreast of Belle Isle Bay, which comes in from the south-east, between whose waters and Kennebecasees is a small portage, or carrying-place. A fine, fresh, south-east wind. Come to anchor in the evening; calm; a few miles below Sheffield.

31st. In the morning fair, but small wind. Run two or three miles, and anchored abreast of Major Gilbert's Island,‡ about two miles below Sheffield meeting-house. From Belle Isle Bay upward,

* Mr. Sabine says ("American Loyalists," vol. ii. p. 54) that a George McCall was one of the grantees of the city of St. John, and established himself as a merchant there. — Eds.

† Mr. Wallcut has so copied this name. We are a little suspicious of the spelling, and inclined to conjecture that Mr. Turner wrote Sayre. — Eds.

‡ This island took its name, doubtless, from Colonel Thomas Gilbert, of whom Mr. Sabine gives an account. — Eds.

the land is good ; great tracts of intervale and islands. Agriculture is brought to considerable proficiency. Sheffield is a very handsome town, on the east side of the river ; has a small, but elegant Congregational Meeting-house. Mr. Maynard * went on shore and shot some pigeons, which are very plenty. At night, anchored abreast of Maugerville. This is a parish on the east side of the river, on an extensive, high intervale ; appears to be an old settlement.† A little above Maugerville church, Oromucto stream comes in from the west, which nearly connects St. John's with Magaguadawick waters. Nearly opposite Maugerville church is a court-house, in the parish of Lincoln, county of Sunbury.

September 1st. Went up the river, within three miles of Frederickton. Calm ; anchored.

2d. Arrived at Frederickton at nine o'clock, A.M., and took lodgings at Mrs. Vanderbeck's, a Scotch widow. Frederickton is situated on the west bank of the river, ninety miles above the city of St. John. It is an high, intervale point of land, about three miles long, north and south, and half as wide, east and west. There are, as yet, but few buildings, — the church, the court-house, and a few private buildings of elegance. The barracks are sufficient to contain one thousand men, elegantly built, forming a square, the officers' fronting south, the soldiers' west. They are situated at the easternmost point of the town, and make a very good appearance. The Governor's seat is about a mile north of the court-house, — an elegant pile of buildings, of every description.

3d. Sent off two barrels of pork, by Thomas Field, in a birch canoe, for Captain Joseph Cunliff's, at the mouth of Maduxnekeag, eighty miles above Frederickton.‡ At ten o'clock, A.M., paid our respects to Governor Thomas Carleton, being introduced by Mr. Secretary Odell.§ Afternoon, Mr. Maynard went up river twelve miles, to the French Village, with Andrew Tibbets, taking part of our baggage. I called on Colonel Edward Winslow,|| formerly of Plymouth ; he was not at home. Drank tea with Mr. Bradley and lady, our late fellow-passengers, where I was treated with the utmost freedom and complaisance, not only by them, but by Mrs. Bradley's father, Captain Jenkins, in whom much information, gained by experience, true politeness, and real benevolence, are united with garrulous old age. Pre-

* Jonathan Maynard, who is mentioned several times in this journal, was a surveyor. Among the Wallcut papers, we find a copy of a description of land, purchased of the Penobscot Indians, and surveyed under the direction of General Towne, in 1797. This is signed by Salem Towne, Park Holland, Jonathan Maynard, and John Chamberlain, *Surveyors*. — Eds.

† Maugerville is the oldest English settlement on the St. John River. See Gesner's "New Brunswick," pp. 155, 156. — Eds.

‡ The present town of Woodstock, the shire town of Carleton County, is situated at the mouth of the Maduxnekeag. — Eds.

§ The Rev. Jonathan Odell, a refugee from New Jersey. He wrote many political satires, in verse, that attracted attention. See Sabine's "American Loyalists," vol. ii. p. 122 ; Sargent's "Loyalist Poetry of the Revolution," p. 199 ; and "Loyal Verses of Stansbury and Odell," p. 105. — Eds.

|| Colonel Winslow was afterward governor of the province. He died at Frederickton, in 1815. See Sabine's "Loyalists," vol. ii. p. 445. — Eds.

vious to seeing the Governor, we waited on Mr. Secretary Odell, who appeared to dislike our attempting settlements on or near the line, — suggesting that it was the understanding of both parties, at the settlement of the Peace of 1783, that the line to run north from the source of St. Croix would leave the settlement of the neutral French high up St. John River, called Melawasea,* on the east side of the line, and, consequently, not interfere with their line of mail-carriage up that river, and across to Quebec. He supposed it probable that negotiations were in train on that subject, and advised us not to attempt any settlement on or near the line, until matters were adjusted. Relative to our proposed visit to the Governor, he advised us to make it a visit of ceremony only, and not to make any proposals respecting the using the river in carrying on settlements, as the only answer the Governor could give would be to refer to the treaty, and, if any thing like a special indulgence was requested, he would undoubtedly refer a decision to the Crown; and, therefore, the best way to avoid difficulty was to make none.

We, therefore, in compliance with the humor of Mr. Secretary Odell (he introducing us), paid our respects to his Excellency, who treated us with politeness, inquiring into our business generally, — having, however, been previously informed by Mr. Secretary into the measures we proposed to take to get our baggage up the river, presuming we had baggage with us; and (no doubt supposing we had articles that we could not have entered at the custom house) he said he should not object to our carrying up any thing the custom house officers allowed us to land; — approved our proposed method of going up the river, wished us success, and we departed.

4th. After Mr. Maynard went up the river, I saw and conversed with Stair Agnew, Esq.,† one of the Lower House of Assembly, and one of the judges of the county court, who very much disapproved of the cavalier manner with which Mr. Secretary Odell had treated us, alleging that, by the existing treaty, citizens of the United States had a right to pass up and down the river, and that the 30th of George the Third‡ was an express privilege for the encouragement of settlers from the United States; that our going up the river, and proposed settlement near the boundary line, met with his hearty approbation, and, he was confident, would be pleasing to the people in general, and the popular branch of the Legislature, and should receive his decided support. He reflected, with pain, on the conduct of Mr. Odell. He also told me that he was confident that Colonel Edward Winslow,

* Mr. Wallcut has erred in copying this name. Madawaska is the true name of the Acadian settlement. For an account of it, see Gesner's "New Brunswick," pp. 178-181. — Eds.

† See Sabine's "American Loyalists," vol. i. p. 155. — Eds.

‡ The 30th George III. chapter 27 (1789), was an act to encourage settlers in the American colonies. It was among those repealed by the 24th and 25th Victoria, chapter 101, which was an act passed to repeal enactments that had become unnecessary, &c. See Paterson's "Practical Statutes of the Session of 1861," p. 314. — Eds.

who was one of the Council, would heartily approve of, and endeavor to promote, our settlement.

5th. I went up the river with the remainder of the baggage, in a birch canoe, with an Indian to the upper end of the French Village * (so called), about twelve miles above the tide-water, and met Mr. Maynard at a Mr. Howard's, at which place are about twenty families of Indians, and a small chapel.

6th. Purchased a canoe, paddle, &c., and hired Andrew Tibbets for a boatman; also, hired William McKeen, who found boat, and at twelve o'clock at noon got under way, and went ten miles up river, almost to Bear Island, and put up and lodged with one Peasley, a tanner, by the river side, where we were treated with great politeness; and he would take nothing for our entertainment.

7th. Travelled on, nineteen miles, to Maductic Falls (so called), passing a considerable stream that comes in from the west, called Pocaock [Pokiok], and put up, in the rain, at Mr. Edmund Tompkins's, where we saw Mr. Tompkins's father, aged 106. He was a tall man, thin-favored, light-complexioned, an agreeable countenance, able to walk out, and to do considerable light labor on the farm; his appetite good, and slept well. He, with a number of children, attached themselves to the British army, when at New York; and although his memory, like other aged persons', had so far failed as that he was not able to tell any particular service he had performed for his king, yet his great consolation, and what he frequently repeated, was that *he had been faithful in serving his king*.

8th. Went up the river, five miles, to Mr. Guyer's, where we found Thomas Field, with our two barrels of pork, ready to go forward with us; but heavy rain prevented our proceeding.

9th. At noon it cleared so far as to rain but about half the time. We set off, and went, twelve miles, to Major Griffith's, where we were politely entertained, and where was a collection of young folks,—nine young ladies and one young widow, and six young gentlemen, who were prepared to spend the evening in dancing, after quilting. The ladies all dressed in white, and all performed their parts in the style and taste of Boston, where, eighteen years ago, Satan's seat was; where the owl and the satyr danced, and no human footstep appeared. Major Griffith was a refugee from New York, and was appointed major in Simcoe's Provincial troops, where he acted so much of a part (although, from my acquaintance with him, I could not determine whether he had any parts) as to obtain a pension and a grant of land. He appears to be a small man, in every sense of the word; but disposed to reason for his own advantage, if any thing he said might be taken for reasoning. But if logic consists in observations made which are at open war with every principle of reason and common sense, and diametrically opposite to analogous principles, the Major was a logician. But being nothing

* French Village is the site of an Indian encampment, and a Roman Catholic chapel. See Gesner's "New Brunswick," p. 164. The place is still so called. — EDS.

originally, he has spent his life in the study of nothing, — has acquired nothing, and is nothing in the abstract. His lady was formerly of Philadelphia, with many accomplishments. The Major has an excellent tract of land, and has made considerable progress in clearing up a farm, but has done it at a dear rate. Instead of profiting from the good old pedagogue, Experience, he has furnished himself with the British writers on agriculture, gardening, &c.; and, apparently disregarding the trifling circumstances of difference of climate, soil, degree of improvement, and all the *minutiæ* of the muckworm, he nobly soars above the whole, and places his labor and seed where, when, and as his books direct. He has got a new idea in his head, if he might ever be said to have an old one to compare it with, viz., that he is a suitable person for an Assemblyman, — such a creature as, in Massachusetts, we call a Representative to the General Court. He says he shall not make much of a speaker, but can draft bills, and in that way be eminently serviceable to his constituents. He is, accordingly, canvassing for an election, which comes on soon. The popular branch of the government of New Brunswick are chosen by counties, septennially; and gentlemen propose themselves as candidates to represent one or more counties, as they please, having a freehold estate, to a certain amount, in the several counties in which they propose themselves; and they send men forward, previous to the election, to make interest and solicit votes at the time of election. The Governor issues a precept (or by whatever other name it is called) to the high sheriff. That officer notifies meetings in the several parishes of the several counties, in such order of time and place as to attend the whole himself. All the candidates for the county go with him, and attend the meetings. Each states his pretensions, and requests his friends to vote for him. After they have stated their pretensions (in which there are, to be sure, no demands, in consequence of the poorer people being indebted to them, no bribing or corruption, although the people are sure to be made drunk at the candidate's expense, if they have an inclination to drink), the sheriff calls on each voter separately to declare which candidate he votes for, till he has gone through the company; and so on, from parish to parish, through the county.

These patriotic Assemblymen, thus freely elected, serve without fee or reward; viz., no taxes on their constituents to pay Assemblymen, or any other public or private purposes, except for erecting county buildings and repairing highways. True, there is a small impost and excise, which makes English and West India goods about 175 per cent higher than in Boston; but that is no grievance; wages are high; money is plenty, — there being a great many pensioners in the province. During the late war with France, a regiment of provincials (composed of the offscouring of all nations, — the very scum of the froth) was paid and supported by the Crown; and, in time of peace, more or less of the standing British regiments are quartered there. This last measure not only makes money circulate, but has a surprising good effect among the Indians, both black and white, to keep them peaceable, and prevent grumbling. The Council,

as well as the Governor, is appointed by the Crown. Therefore, they are always in one box, and the popular branch of the Legislature in the other; and so sharp are their contests, between the rights of the Crown and the people, that very little business has been done by the General Court for several years. The court meets, the two branches soon get to clashing; the Governor lets them fight a while, and then prorogues them, and sends them packing. Thus have they tugged, until the Assemblymen, and almost all the common people, notwithstanding their loyalty and attachment to their *free British Constitution*, secretly wish (and many openly declare their wishes) to be annexed to the United States. A great proportion of the people, being refugees from different States, would gladly return, if they had any property they could bring with them; but their royal master and his governor have admirably ordered matters, much better than they could have done themselves, and obliged them to be happy where they are, by preventing their disposing of their real estate; viz., giving them no title to it. Grants of considerable tracts of land were made by the Crown to loyalists who had lost, or pretended to have lost, property in the United States, by their attachment to their king; also, to some officers of the troops disbanded at the conclusion of the American war, since which no grants have been made. And these grants contained a reservation to the Crown of certain annual rents, when demanded. Most other persons in that province hold their real estate, either by a grant of improvement, performing certain conditions of settlement, paying annual rents, if demanded; or by leases from the lords of manors, given to them and their heirs, so long as they shall pay one shilling per acre per annum. Thus are they in a pretty poor situation for removing with property to the United States or elsewhere, and would like well that the United States would remove to them.

10th. At ten o'clock, A.M., arrived at Captain Joseph Cunliff's, at the mouth of Maduxnekeag, where, depositing our baggage, we made preparations to take the bush.

11th. Went twelve miles up Maduxnekeag, and camped at the head of the lower falls.

12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th were spent in surveying for Mr. Maynard. On the 20th, being joined by Captain Johnson and Dr. Saltmarsh, in behalf of Joseph E. Foxcroft and others, we made two companies. Myself, Johnson, A. Tibbets, and Jesse Baker began at the north-east corner of Milton Academy land,* and ran north. Rainy; camped before night.

21st. Rained hard all day; remained in camp.

22d. Ran and marked twenty-seven mile tree. Rainy. This day, be bread and pork our lot!

23d. Hard rain; remained in camp.

24th. Still rainy; ran until noon; broke my compass glass; then steered north-east by pocket compass for Presque Isle garrison; trav-

* Milton Academy was incorporated, with the usual grant of a half-township of land, March 3, 1798. — Eds.

elled until dark ; heavy rain ; struck the stream, and with great difficulty got fire. Jesse Baker, not a very healthy person, and thinly clothed in linen, was beat out with wet, cold, and fatigue.

25th. With difficulty walked down stream three miles to the garrison, where we arrived (without leaving Baker in the woods) at noon.

26th, 27th, and 28th. Remained in garrison waiting for Mr. Maynard with provisions.

29th. Mr. Maynard arrived. In the morning we again string on our war bags and — bush.

30th. Got to our work and ran half a mile.

October 1st. Ran to thirty-first mile tree, where we began Bridgewater Academy location.* Mr. Maynard and company running west, myself and company running north, we intended to meet at the north-west corner. We accordingly met there on the 4th, and marked the north-west corner of Bridgewater Academy lands, which is a little south of a considerable mountain, which lies north-west from Presque Isle garrison, and near the source of the stream. Upon the westerly end of the Bridgewater Academy lands we laid one thousand acres granted to a Mr. Cox, now owned by a Mr. Amory.†

5th and 6th. Ran two lines through Bridgewater Academy lands, numbering lots, &c., and met at the east end ; and from the thirty-first and a half mile tree, ran a line intending to strike the garrison, which we did on the 7th, at noon. Having completed our business, we pushed hard, and with our three birch canoes arrived in the evening at Captain Cunliff's.

8th. Paid off and discharged our troops, and prepared for home by way of Penobscot waters.

It is but just to mention the very marked attention paid Captain Johnson and myself at the garrison, by Mr. Commissary Nicholson,‡ an Irishman, and his lady and family. He was an officer in the dragoon service during the whole of the American war, was a man of observation, and notwithstanding his national prejudices and partialities, could view things in their proper light. He was ready to confess the extreme folly of the British Parliament in strenuously urging their claim upon the then American colonies. He readily gave credit to the American army for all their distinguishable achievements, and placed our much reputed Washington in the first rank of generals. Mr.

* The Commonwealth of Massachusetts granted a half-township to Bridgewater Academy, February 28, 1799. It was sold afterward for \$5000. See Mitchell's "History of Bridgewater," p. 53. — Eds.

† A grant of one thousand acres of land was made to Lemuel Cox, January 26, 1796, "in consideration of his being the first inventor of a machine for cutting card wire ; his projecting the first powder mill in this State ; his suggesting that useful employment for the criminals on Castle William, of making nails, and in consideration of other valuable discoveries in various mechanical branches." See "Resolves of the General Court, respecting the sale of Eastern Lands," p. 147. — Eds.

‡ This is perhaps the Arthur Nicholson mentioned by Sabine ("Loyalists," vol. ii. p. 120). — Eds.

Nicholson's conversation is animating and instructive. He and his lady appeared to study to make our stay agreeable, treating us with various fruits and roots, the product of the garrison lands, among which we noticed watermelons and muskmelons in great perfection; and strawberries, which abound there, preserved with loaf sugar, a most delicious dessert, of which they frequently get two crops in a season. The second crop was then full-grown, as were also red raspberries. When we departed, he would not be prevailed on to accept any compensation for the expense and trouble we had occasioned, but left us, with the lesser blessing of receiving, to prosecute our voyage to Penobscot tide-waters. We proceeded on, and having hired Saul Sabbatis, the same Indian we employed the season before, went down the river as far as Mr. McKeen's, near Maductic point, an old Indian town, where we tarried the night. Our company then consisted of Captain Johnson and myself in one birch, with Isaac Spencer for boatman; Mr. Maynard and Dr. Saltmarsh, with Saul for boatman.

9th. Commenced our voyage by carrying our boats and baggage over the portage five miles into Eell River; went up the river into and across Eell Lake, and encamped in the rain on the portage between Eell Lake and the Upper Schoodic Lake; found, however, an excellent light bark camp, built by the Indians; this was a luxury.

10th. Crossed the portage, three miles; it rained hard, but was calm; therefore crossed lakes, carried over a three mile portage into Baskenhegen, a branch of Penobscot River, and went four miles down the stream, found another bark camp and put up.

11th. Went out of Baskenhegen into Metawaumkeag, a still larger branch of the Penobscot; at night arrived at the mouth of the Metawaumkeag, and encamped in an Indian wigwam; it being a cold frosty night, we chose to risk the lice.

12th. Faint yet pursuing, we arrived at night in safety at Indian Old Town, about ten miles above the tide, and lodged with Mr. Winslow; discharged Sabbatis.

13th. Arrived at Park Holland, Esq.'s.*

14th. Prepared for a voyage to Boston in Captain Partridge.

26th. Landed at Boston.

28th. Arrived at Scituate.

The Committee have selected also the following memoranda of Mr. Wallcut, relating to the class in the Latin School of which he was a member, as they possess some interest for graduates of that venerable institution. These memoranda are indorsed "List of the Class which entered the South

* Park Holland, a well-known surveyor, lived at this time in the town of Eddington, not far from Bangor. There is a sketch of his life, by his grandson, Luther H. Eaton, in the "Centennial Celebration of the settlement of Bangor," pp. 140-143. — Eds.

Latin School in 1766, and which closed its connection in 1773; in the order of entrance.”*

Thomas Kilby Jones,	Hugh Mackay Gordon,
*Daniel Johonnot,	Thomas Wallcut,
Thomas Dawes (L),	*Samuel Cooper,
†Constant Freeman,	*John Gill,
James Freeman (L),	Samuel Bradford,
*Benjamin Bethune,	James Prince,
Jonathan Derby Robbins,	David Ochterlony,
*William Greenleaf (L),	*Robert McNeil,
Jonathan Homer (L),	Thomas Fletcher,
Charles Apthorp Wheelwright,	Jacob Eustis,
*William Davis,	John Laughton,
Isaac Coffin (L),	John Erving (L),
William Deblois,	Shirley Erving (L),
Scroop Bernard,	Thomas Fenton (L).

The class of 1766 has furnished professional and mercantile men, viz : —

One Judge of Supreme Judicial Court,	} Dawes.
One Judge of Municipal Court,	
One Judge of Probate Court,	
One Judge of Inferior Court,	} Cooper.
One Public Notary,	
One British Admiral, Coffin.	
One British General (Indies), Ochterlony.	
One British Colonel, Gordon.	

Two American Colonels, Freeman and Bradford.

Three Baronets or Knights of the Bath, Coffin, Bernard and Ochterlony.

One member of the British Parliament, Bernard.

One British Captain, Bethune.

Two Clergymen, Freeman and Homer.

Two Civil Marshals, Bradford and Prince.

One High Sheriff, Bradford.

Two Representatives in State Legislature, Jones and Prince.

Two Physicians, Erving and Greenleaf.

One Commissary General of the State, Prince.

One Officer in the civil list of Great Britain, Fenton.

One Coroner, Prince.

One Antiquary and Scribe to the State, Wallcut.

One War Agent, Eustis.

Thirteen merchants, Jones, Johonnot, Robbins, Wheelwright, Davis, Deblois, Bradford, McNeil, Eustis, Fletcher, Laughton, Erving, Prince.

* Those with this mark (L) remained until 1773. Those with this mark (*) are dead. Seven dead in forty-four years from 1766; twenty-one supposed to be living in 1810. The (†) means “advanced one class.” — *Mr. Wallcut's note.*

Five Masters of Arts, Dawes, Erving, Freeman, Greenleaf, Homer.

Two Fellows of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Freeman and Dawes.

Three Fellows of the Historical Society, Freeman, Homer, Wallcut.

Two Poets: one (doggerel), Prince; one (sublime), Dawes.

Colonel HENRY LEE recalled a question, asked some time ago by Mr. Deane, as to the origin of the name Windsor as applied to certain chairs ordered to be bought in the early days of the Society's existence, and still used occasionally at its meetings, and said:—

An English gentleman visiting me at Beverly Farms, struck with two Windsor chairs in my parlor, and six more upon the piazza, asked what I called them, and upon my replying "Windsor chairs," said "that was curious; that his kitchen chairs were of the same shape, not so nicely finished, and that they were still manufactured in England."

In Loudon's "Encyclopædia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture," page 319, paragraph 639, I find the following:—

"Fig. 643" (referring to a drawing of a Windsor chair) "is a Windsor chair, one of the best kitchen chairs in general use in the midland counties of England. The seat is of elm, somewhat hollowed out; the outer rail of the back is of ash, in one piece, bent to the sort of horse-shoe form shown in the figure, by being previously heated or steamed; its ends are then inserted in two holes bored through the seat, and are wedged firmly in from the under side. An additional support is given to the back, by two round rails, which are also made fast in two holes, formed in a projecting part of the seat."

A somewhat exhaustive search had resulted, Col. Lee said, in no explanation of the appellation Windsor.

Mr. CHARLES W. TUTTLE laid before the Society an ancient manuscript, being the form of government for the Province of New Hampshire, adopted by a convention held in Portsmouth on the twenty-fourth day of January, 1690, and submitted the following communication respecting it:—

The political condition of the royal Province of New Hampshire during the short period it was without government, beginning with the deposition of Sir Edmund Andros on the eighteenth day of April, 1689, and ending with the re-annexation of that Province to Massachusetts on the nineteenth of March, 1690,—eleven months,—has received but little attention from historians. Dr. Belknap gives but little space,—less than twenty lines,—in his admirable history of New Hampshire, to the consideration of the civil affairs of this period, and

is not entirely accurate in this. His relation of other events is more extended and correct.*

The fall of the government of Sir Edmund Andros over New England, an event in which neither the Province nor the people of New Hampshire had any part, left that Province without any government. The provincial officers of his appointment, civil and military, had no authority to act after his overthrow by the action of the people of Massachusetts. The four ancient towns, Portsmouth, Dover, Hampton, and Exeter, which then constituted that entire Province, were again in a state of independence, as they were when annexed to Massachusetts in the year 1641. They were now stronger in population and in political organization. Fifty years' experience had given them an almost perfect system of domestic self-government. But for the exigencies of the times, which required a bond of political union, and unity of action, they might have remained in their independent state without inconvenience, so well regulated were their domestic concerns, and orderly their inhabitants.

The people of the other Colonies and Provinces in New England, under the government of Sir Edmund Andros, were likewise left without government; but they had systems of government under which they had long been accustomed to live, and which they could readily resume. In less than one month after the overthrow of Andros, the Colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Plymouth returned quietly to their former governments, and recalled their former magistrates.†

New Hampshire had been a royal Province little more than nine years when the revolution in New England occurred. During this period it had been governed by royal commissions in the hands of officers appointed by the king of England. Two entirely different systems of government had been set over the Province, neither of which suited the genius and wants of the whole people. They were therefore without any system of government, suited to their desires, to fall back on. The four towns remained eleven months without union, or any provincial government.

The war with the eastern Indians, begun in the Province of Maine in the summer of 1688, was only slumbering when the government of Sir Edmund Andros was overthrown in April, 1689. It was destined to break forth with great and terrible energy, supported by the moral strength, at least, of a new foe, before the summer ended, and to rage with little interruption till the Peace of Ryswick more than seven years later.‡

To add greater calamities to New England, on the seventh of May England declared war against France, an act that finally led to a fierce and bloody conflict between their American Colonies, notwithstanding the treaty of colonial neutrality made between these two

* Mass. Col. Records, vol. vi. pp. 1, 3, 127, 128. Farmer's Belknap, pp. 121, 122.

† Palfrey's Hist. New England, vol. iii. pp. 596, 597.

‡ Farmer's Belknap, pp. 131-143.

crowns less than three years before. This unhappy event in Europe encouraged the Indians in their war on the English, and darkened the prospect of all New England.*

A mighty scheme for the conquest of New York and of Hudson's Bay was already devised in France, although the treaty of colonial neutrality provided that, if the two crowns should break friendship in Europe, their colonies in America should remain in peace and neutrality. Actual collision with the French did not take place before November, a delay more on account of Boston trade than on account of the treaty stipulations. The blow then came from a squadron on the coast of Acadia, recently from France, and said to be designed to surprise Boston.†

The four towns in New Hampshire, nestling between Massachusetts and the Province of Maine, again under the jurisdiction of the Bay Colony, seemed far enough removed from either of the enemies of the English.

Suddenly, in the darkness of the morning of the twenty-eighth day of June, the third month after their government had been withdrawn, a body of Indians swooped down like a bird of prey on the frontier village of Cochecho, in Dover, and destroyed it; killing a large number of the inhabitants, and carrying away into captivity as many more. Among the slain was the venerable Richard Waldron, for more than forty years the admitted chief in civil and military affairs in the Province. Within one week after the overthrow of Andros, he had been appointed by the Council of Safety, in Massachusetts, "Commander-in-Chief of the New Hampshire Regiment."‡

A few hours after this memorable tragedy had ended, six of the principal gentlemen of Portsmouth received from Richard Waldron, Jr., a brief account in writing of what had befallen his venerable father and others at Cochecho, by the hands of the barbarous Indians. They immediately wrote a joint letter to Major Pike at Salisbury, the nearest military commander in Massachusetts, enclosing this account of the disaster, for the Governor and Council, and requesting assistance in this exigency of affairs, "wherein the whole country is concerned."

Major Pike wrote a short letter to the Governor, requesting speedy orders and advice, and forwarded it with the others to Boston.

Governor Bradstreet received them at midnight the same day of the massacre, and next day laid them before the General Court. Their contents were quickly considered, and a letter to the gentlemen of

* Brodhead's Hist. New York, vol. ii. pp. 475, 545. 3 Mass. Hist. Collections, vol. i. p. 99.

† Documentary Hist. of New York, vol. ii. p. 47. Murdock's Nova Scotia, vol. i. pp. 178, 179. Brodhead's Hist. New York, vol. ii. p. 547. Mass. Archives, vol. xxxv. p. 106.

‡ What political relation the Council of Safety regarded the Province to have to Massachusetts when this act was done does not appear. Nor does it appear that Major Waldron exercised over the militia any functions of this commission. Farmer's Belknap, pp. 126, 129. Pike's Journal in Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc., Sept. 1875, p. 124, and Dr. Quint's note. Mass. Col. Records, vol. vi. p. 6.

Portsmouth prepared and forwarded. The court expressed concern for their friends and neighbors, looking upon the affair as concerning all; but declined "to exert any authority in your Province." The letter concluded with advice to them to "fall into some form or constitution for the exercise of government for your safety and convenience." *

A few days later, the second day of July, seeing the defenceless condition of the Province, the General Court ordered that "drums be beaten up in Boston and the adjacent towns for volunteers to go forth with for the succor and relief of our neighbor friends at Pascataqua, distressed by the Indian enemies." To encourage volunteers the court offered to provide their sustenance, and gave them liberty to nominate their own officers. They were also authorized to receive from "the public treasury eight pounds for every fighting man's head or scalp that they shall bring in," and also to share all plunder taken from the Indians.†

This dreadful massacre — the greatest, in all points of view, in the annals of the Province — spread terror among the inhabitants, and weakened their strength. It opened their eyes to the fact that their geographical position offered them no security from the blows of the barbarous enemy. It brought freshly before them their helpless condition by reason of the want of provincial government. Executive authority to raise military forces and provide for them, by impressment if necessary; to construct public defences and garrison them; to levy and collect taxes, and above all to make a treaty with other Colonies for joining in a common defence against common enemies, was now needed more than ever.

The magistrates and military officers in the Province, appointed by Andros, had undoubtedly exercised a feeble sway. The question had long been debated by the inhabitants whether their functions were wholly suspended. At length they generally concluded, "that we had no Governor nor authority in this Province so as to answer the ends of government, and to command and do in defence of their Majesties' subjects against the common enemy." ‡

The refusal of the General Court to exercise in the Province any of the functions of government, now so much needed there, the advice to form a government among themselves, and the great and pressing need of one at this juncture of affairs led to the first attempt to that end since the fall of Andros. Several gentlemen of Portsmouth and Great Island sent letters to the several towns in the Province requesting them to make choice of fit persons to meet on the eleventh day of July, and to "consider of what shall be adjudged meet and convenient to be done by the several towns in the Province for their peace and safety, until we shall have orders from the crown of England." Whatever should be agreed on by this convention was to be submitted

* 3 Mass. Hist. Collections, vol. i. pp. 88-90.

† Mass. Col. Records, vol. vi. p. 53.

‡ Nathaniel Weare's Letter to Robert Pike, in N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. i. pp. 135, 140.

to the towns for their approval. Nothing appears to have come of this.*

While the matter of provincial government was under consideration and debate in the towns, Massachusetts was actively preparing for the common defence of all the New England Colonies, against the French as well as the Indians.

On the seventeenth of July, she summoned her ancient allies, the Colonies of Connecticut and Plymouth, to send commissioners to Boston, "according to the rules of our ancient union and confederation," to consider measures for "a joint and vigorous prosecution of the common enemy." The commissioners assembled on the sixteenth day of September, and carefully examined the causes of the Indian war. They formally declared "the same to be just and necessary on the part of the English, and ought to be jointly prosecuted by all the Colonies." They directed notice to be sent to the towns in New Hampshire of their meeting and action, with a request for their "concurrence and assistance in a joint management of the war," and adjourned to meet again on the eighteenth day of October.†

With the first month of autumn came another attack of the barbarians in the Province. On the thirteenth of September, the settlement on Oyster River—a place fated to feel the stroke of savage vengeance oftener and more severely than any other in the Province—was attacked by Indians, and eighteen persons slain.‡

On the tenth day of October, Governor Bradstreet carried out the request of the commissioners by direction of the General Court. He wrote a letter to Richard Martyn, William Vaughan, and Richard Waldron, principal persons in New Hampshire, acquainting them of what had been done by the commissioners of the United Colonies, and requesting a commissioner to be sent from that Province to meet the commissioners at their next meeting. On the sixteenth these gentlemen sent a joint answer, wherein they expressed their thanks for what had already been done for the defence of the country, and regretted that there was insufficient time for the towns to assemble and make choice of a commissioner before the next meeting of the commissioners. They declared their determination to communicate

* N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. viii. p. 399. Weare's Letter.

† Mass. Archives, vol. xxxv. p. 50. Ibid. vol. cvii. p. 244. 4 Mass. Hist. Collections, vol. v. pp. 203, 212. Bradstreet's Letter to Governor Treat, Connecticut Archives.

‡ Manuscript letter of Major Robert Pike, in Mass. Archives, vol. cvii p. 314. 4 Mass. Hist. Collections, vol. v. p. 212. Mather's Magnalia, lib. 7, p. 67. Farmer's Belknap, p. 131. Major Pike says the garrison attacked was Langstaff's; and that the number slain and carried captive was nineteen. Mather says it was Lieutenant Huckin's garrison that was attacked; and that "Captain Garner" pursued the Indians. His statement has been accepted by all historians. Captain Andrew Gardner of Boston, of the forces of Major Swayne lately sent into those parts, had a company of soldiers scouting there, whose head-quarters were at Salmon Falls. Pike in his journal says it was James Huggin's garrison, and carries the event back into August, which is clearly wrong. The date of this attack has never before been fixed.

the request to the several towns forthwith, so that a commissioner might be chosen for any later meeting of the commissioners.*

Near the end of October the several towns held meetings and voted for a commissioner of the United Colonies of New England, an act that gives the Province new importance in history. The votes of the towns were sent to Portsmouth, and it appeared that William Vaughan was elected commissioner.† Dover appointed John Tuttle, agent, to take the vote of the town to Portsmouth to be counted with the votes of the other towns, and to assist in giving instructions to the commissioner chosen as to the management of the war.‡

The commissioners of the United Colonies now assumed the direction of the war, which was carried on at the joint expense of all. Connecticut had strongly hinted that Rhode Island should be invited to join the confederation. Governor Bradstreet was prevailed on to write to Governor Clark on the second day of August, setting out the necessity of making a joint defence against the common enemies of the English, and requesting advice and assistance. It does not appear that any ever came. Rhode Island had not been admitted to the confederation in former years.§

On the sixth of December the commissioners of the Colonies, Vaughan with them, assembled in Boston to consider the war with the French. Although this war had been declared seven months before in Europe, no considerable injury had been inflicted on New England till recently. Intelligence had now arrived that war had been publicly declared against the English at Port Royal, and that English fishing vessels in that quarter had been seized, some kept and others sent to France; that the French were aiding and assisting the Indian enemy with arms and ammunition, thereby showing their intention, by all ways and means, to hurt and destroy their Majesties' subjects; a thing they will continue to do so long as they have any considerable fortified fort or harbor near us. The commissioners therefore recommend that in the United Colonies and Provinces in these parts his Majesty's declaration of war against France be forthwith published, and that care be taken that the militia be well settled, and the fortifications in sea-port towns be made fit for service. They also recommend that a committee of fit persons be appointed to inquire into the present condition of our French neighbors, and to find what measures need be taken in regard to them, so as to prevent their doing further injury, and giving further assistance to the Indians, and make report.||

* Mass. Archives, vol. xxxv. pp. 50, 57.

† N. H. Prov. Papers, vol. ii. pp. 30, 32. Mass. Archives, vol. xxxv. p. 106.

‡ N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. viii. p. 398.

§ Mass. Archives, vol. xxxv. pp. 63, 106. Ibid. vol. cvii. p. 247. Colony Records of Conn. 1689-1706, p. 8. Church's Philip's War, pt. ii. pp. 55, 58. Arnold's Hist. Rhode Island, vol. i. pp. 156, 157.

|| Mass. Archives, vol. xxxv. p. 106. Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. ii. p. 47.

It is worthy of note that our historians have omitted to mention the commissioners of the United Colonies and their action, as related here.

On the eighteenth of December, Hampton was so sensible of the want of government that three of its principal inhabitants, viz., Nathaniel Weare, Samuel Sherburne, and Henry Dow, were selected to meet persons chosen by other towns, and consider and debate this matter of government, and make report at the next town meeting. Nothing, however, seems to have come of this, except that Hampton now began to be very jealous of the other towns.*

When the memorable year 1689 ended, the four towns in New Hampshire were still without union and without government. The prospect of having a provincial government set over them by William and Mary was no better than when the government of Andros was withdrawn from them, more than eight months before. A conflict of arms with the French was impending. The veteran Frontenac, the greatest soldier in the New World, now again the military chief of New France, had been three months in Canada, and was preparing to crush the English settlements in New England.†

At this juncture of affairs, Portsmouth, Dover, and Exeter came to an understanding that each should choose commissioners with full power to meet in joint convention and devise "some method of government in order to their defence against the common enemy."

Hampton seems to have been unreasonably jealous of the other towns, and to have delayed action in the matter of providing a provincial government. This applies to part, not all the inhabitants. Portsmouth, Dover, and Exeter elected their commissioners to the Convention; and the commissioners of the two former towns were forced to request Hampton to elect her commissioners. She delayed action nearly three weeks in a matter of so much consequence, and finally brought all to nought.

Exeter sent four delegates, and the other towns six each, to the Convention, making twenty-two in all. They were the chief persons in the four towns of the Province, and heads of families. The commissioners met in Convention in Portsmouth, the metropolis of the Province, on the twenty-fourth of January, 1690. How they organized, or who their officers were, is unknown. The Convention unanimously adopted a simple form of self-government, substantially like that set over the Province by the royal Commissions of Charles II., to President Cutt and also Lieutenant-Governor Cranfield. To give their act the greatest force and authority, each and every member of the Convention set his hand to the instrument on which was drawn the form of the new provincial government. This celebrated document, the only remaining record of the Convention now known, is in the handwriting of John Pickering, a lawyer of Portsmouth, and a member of the Convention.‡ Having finished its labors, the Convention ad-

* N. H. Prov. Papers, vol. ii. pp. 31, 43, 44. Weare's Letter.

† Brodhead's New York, vol. ii. pp. 603, 606. Farmer's Belknap, p. 182.

‡ N. H. Prov. Papers, vol. ii. pp. 31-34. Weare's Letter above referred to. Also the original record printed on pages 227, 228.

journed to meet again, after the election of officers for the new government, and count the votes.*

This venerable state document, now printed here for the first time, came to my hands many years ago with some manuscripts of John Tuttle of Dover, a member of the Convention, and my paternal ancestor.† The Convention being a novel proceeding, its records would not likely go with the public archives of the Province. It is amazing that so fragile and homeless a document should find its way down to this time in such good state of preservation. It could not have been seen by Dr. Belknap, otherwise he would have related more fully and accurately the action of the Convention.

The new government was to consist of a President, Secretary, and Treasurer to be chosen by the whole Province; also a Council of ten members to be chosen by the four towns, — Portsmouth and Hampton having three each, and Dover and Exeter two each, — and a Legislative Assembly.‡

On the thirtieth day of January, 1690, six days after the adoption of the form of government, a town meeting was held in Dover to choose two members of the Council, and to vote for President, Secretary, and Treasurer. Captain John Gerrish and Captain John Woodman, two leading citizens, were elected members of the Council. The votes for the other provincial officers were given and sealed up to be opened by the commissioners and counted with the votes of the other towns.§

About the same time, a town meeting was held in Hampton to elect three members of the Council, and to vote for President, Secretary, and Treasurer of the Province. A majority agreed not to vote for any provincial officers, to the great surprise of the whole Province. The six commissioners of Hampton had agreed in Convention to the form of government, and subscribed the record. This action speedily put an end to the attempt to form a provincial government.||

The events of the war were thickening. Schenectady had been destroyed at one blow; and a French and Indian force was already on its way from Canada to the Pascataqua, though then unknown in the Province. A crisis had arrived. These towns must have a government over them.

Some of the leading gentlemen in Portsmouth drew up a petition, addressed to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, praying for government and protection as formerly, till their Majesties' pleasure

* Dover Town Records, January, 1690.

† A biographical sketch of John Tuttle is in the *Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. xxi. pp. 135-137.

‡ See the original record printed here.

§ Dover Town Records, January, 1690.

|| Weare's Letter. It is worthy of note that the town records of Hampton, with the letter, so often cited, of Nathaniel Weare, furnish an outline of the political history of the Province during this period. Portsmouth and Exeter town records show but little of their action; while Dover records supply valuable information nowhere else to be found.

should be known, and declaring readiness to bear a proportion of the charge for defence of the country against the common enemy. This was now the twentieth of February, 1690. The petition was quickly carried through all the towns, and received three hundred and seventy-two signatures. Fifteen members of the Convention, two-thirds of the whole, signed it; — all from Exeter, and all from Portsmouth except Robert Elliot; all from Dover, except John Tuttle, John Roberts, and Nicholas Follett, and all from Hampton, except Nathaniel Weare, Henry Dow, and Henry Green.* The original petition is preserved with the Massachusetts Archives.

Nathaniel Weare, a principal inhabitant of Hampton, and a member of the Convention, was much grieved at the action of Hampton in refusing to elect officers and complete the organization of the provincial government. He was in favor of the plan of self-government, and opposed to annexation to Massachusetts to the same extent as before. He says that this petition was brought to Hampton on the twenty-sixth day of February, while the militia were assembled there; and that many signed it without knowing what it was; and, also, that many children and servants there did the same. Hampton now clearly preferred to remain in her independent state.†

This petition was quickly taken to Boston by John Pickering and William Vaughan, and was presented to the Governor and Council on the twenty-eighth day of February. It was received, and the prayer of the petitioners granted. The Governor and Council forthwith appointed William Vaughan, Richard Martyn, and Nathaniel Fryer, known adherents to the Colony, magistrates over the Province; and Vaughan then and there took the oath of office.‡ Order was given for the towns to make choice of civil and military officers, to complete the new organization, and present their names to the General Court for confirmation, which was quickly done.

In a few weeks John Pickering was dispatched to Boston in behalf of the Province, with a full list of officers, civil and military, and a joint letter of recommendation from William Vaughan and Richard Waldron, to lay the same before the Governor and Council and the Deputies. On the nineteenth day of March, 1690, both branches approved the action of the Governor and Council on the twenty-eighth of February, and confirmed the list of officers.§ Only the day before, Frontenac's party of French and Indians had fallen on the eastern frontier of Dover, and destroyed the village of Salmon Falls.

The Province was now again fully restored to its former relations with Massachusetts, and remained till the Commission of Samuel

* N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. viii. pp. 293-298. Mass. Archives, vol. xxxv. p. 229. The names are very incorrectly spelled in the Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, vol. viii.

† Weare's Letter. A biographical sketch of Nathaniel Weare by the late Chief-Justice Bell, is in N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. viii. pp. 381-394.

‡ Sewall Papers, vol. i. p. 312. Weare's Letter.

§ Mass. Archives, vol. xxx. p. 308. N. H. Prov. Papers, vol. ii. pp. 40, 41. Mass. Col. Rec., vol. vi. pp. 127, 128. Farmer's Belknap, p. 132.

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John woodman Senex

John Griffith Nath^l

John Fuller Samuel Shuster

Thomas Eggle Morris D Hobbs
his marks

John Edwards Henry Dow

Wm. Howell Edward Dow

Nathaniel Fryer

Wm. Vaughan

Robt. Elliot

Lich. Wadsworth

John Pickover

Thos. Webb

Allen as Governor of the Province was published there August 13, 1692.*

During this period of suspended government over the Province, only one act of violence appears against any of the officers appointed by Andros. Richard Chamberlain was Secretary from 1680 to 1686, when the government of Joseph Dudley was extended over the Province, and that office abolished. He was then made clerk of the judicial courts, and held that office till the government of Andros was withdrawn. The records and files of the Province as well as the courts were in his possession, having come there by virtue of his official station. The people resolved to get them from him, although no one had a better right to hold them. Captain John Pickering, a resolute man,—the same mentioned in these pages,—with an armed force proceeded to Chamberlain's house, and demanded the records and files. Chamberlain very properly refused to give them to him, without some legal warrant for his security and protection. Thereupon Pickering seized them with force, and carried them out of the Province.†

Form of Government.

NEW HAMPSHIRE IN NEW ENGLAND.

At a meeting of the Committee chosen by the inhabitants of the respective towns within this Province for settlement of a method of order and government over the same, until their Majesties take care thereof, held in Portsmouth the 24th of January, 1689.

Whereas, Since the late revolution in the Massachusetts Colony, no order from their Majesties has yet arrived for the settlement of government in this Province, and no authority being left in the Province save that of the late Justice of Peace; which, considering our present circumstances, cannot answer the end of government, viz., the raising men, money, &c., for our defence against the common enemy,

Resolved, That a President and Council, consisting of ten persons, as also a Treasurer and Secretary, be chosen in the Province, in manner and form following: viz., for the Council, three persons of the inhabitants of Portsmouth, three persons of the inhabitants of Hampton, two persons of the inhabitants of Dover, and two persons of the inhabitants of Exeter; which persons shall be chosen by the major vote of the inhabitants of the town where they live, and the President, Treasurer, and Secretary to be chosen by the major vote of the whole Province, which President shall also have the power over the militia of the Province as major, and the President and Council so chosen, or the major part thereof, shall with all convenient speed call an assembly of the representatives of the people not exceeding three persons from one town, which said President and Council or the major

* N. H. Prov. Papers, vol. ii. p. 71.

† N. H. Prov. Papers, vol. i. pp. 590, 600. Ibid. vol. iii. p. 298. Farmer's Belknap, pp. 149, 150. A memoir of Captain John Pickering is in N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. iii. pp. 292-297.

part of them, whereof the President or his Deputy to be: or together with the representatives aforesaid, or the major part of them, from time to time shall make such acts and orders, and exert such powers and authority as may in all respects have a tendency to the preservation of the peace, punishment of offenders, and defence of their Majesties' subjects against the common enemy, provided they exceed not the bounds his late Majesty, King Charles the Second, was graciously pleased to limit in his royal commission to the late President and Council of this Province.

ROBT^T WADLEIGH,
WILL^M HILTON,
SAMUELL LEAVETT,
JONATHAN THING,

JOHN WOODMAN,
JOHN GERRISH,
JOHN TUTTLE,
THOMAS EDGELEY,
JOHN ROBEARTS,
NICH. FOLLETT,

HENRY GREEN,
NATH^{LL} WEARE,

SAMUELL SHUEBER,
his
MORRIS X HOBS,
mark
HENRY DOW,
EDWARD GOUE,

NATHAN^{LL} FRYER,
W^M VAUGHAN,
ROBT. ELLIOT,
RICH^D WALDRON,
JOHN PICKERIN,
THO. COBBETT.*

* The spelling and punctuation of this manuscript have been made to conform with modern usage in this printed copy. The names of persons are allowed to remain as they were written. A heliotype of the whole original manuscript is given.